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ABSTRACT

Today, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial (The Wall) has moved beyond its role as an international symbol of healing and stands as a living history lesson, but many of today's young people have a limited knowledge of the Vietnam War. This guide consists of an interactive curriculum enabling teachers to delve into the lessons of that chaotic period and charge their students with becoming enlightened historians and informed citizens. The guide contains materials and student assignments to support two complementary approaches to teaching the history of the Vietnam War. It has six separate modules covering various aspects of that era. Each module, in turn, consists of two sections which can be used separately or in combination, and each module contains supplementary material in the appendixes. The guide may be used: (1) as stand-alone lessons to be taught in a traditional format; (2) as a basis for team learning where student teams teach their classmates about the war; or (3) in customized combinations, teaching some lessons in a more traditional format and some lessons using team learning. Students will use primary source material to conduct historical research; exercise critical and reflective thinking; identify and empathize with the historical experience of others; develop group interaction skills, and engage leadership and

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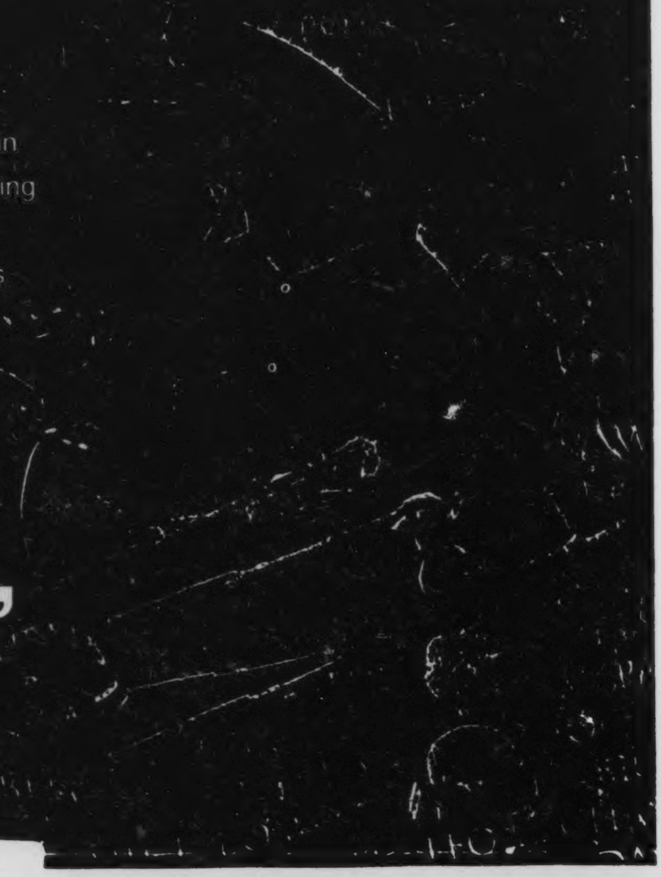
VIETNAM
ECHOES FROM THE WALL

HISTORY, LEARNING AND LEADERSHIP THROUGH THE LENS OF THE VIETNAM WAR ERA

The Vietnam War era — a tumultuous period in American history — continues to cast a lingering shadow on politics and culture. *Echoes From The Wall*, an interactive educational tool, goes beyond the history of that era, enabling every high school student to gain a heightened sense of responsibility, leadership, and global understanding.



TEACHERS' GUIDE

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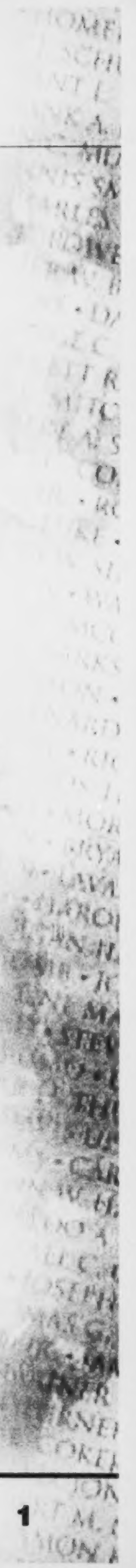

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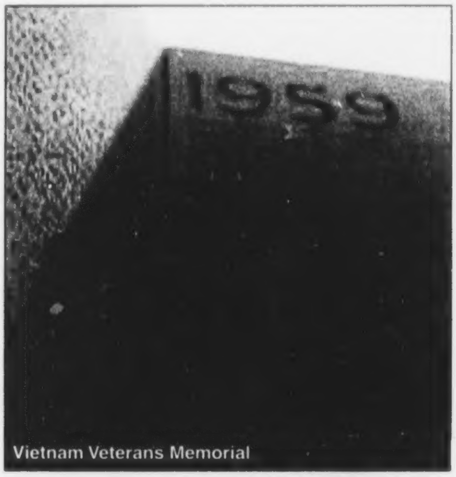
Medcap (US/VN) team.Mekong Delta ·

FOREWORD

No other period in U.S. history is as debated as the Vietnam War era, and no other memorial in the United States arouses such intense discussion as the Vietnam Veterans Memorial (The Wall) in Washington, D.C.

The Wall was initially conceived with one overriding purpose – to bring long overdue honor and recognition to the men and women who served and sacrificed in Vietnam. Because so many veterans met with ridicule and contempt after returning home, it was hoped a memorial would be a place where that injustice could finally be rectified. And, in great measure, it has been. Healing, reconciliation and reunions have all occurred there. The Memorial has long spoken a silent but eloquent message for those who participated in the war, as well as for all those whose lives were and continue to be affected by it.



Vietnam Veterans Memorial

Today, The Wall has moved beyond its role as an international symbol of healing and stands as a living history lesson. It is unique in its ability to inspire exploration and reflection about that divisive time in our nation's past, with a wiser eye toward the future. The more than 60,000 items that have been left there by visitors since its dedication in 1982 offer a compelling picture of The Wall's impact on our culture.

As the founders and co-caretakers of The Wall, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund (VVMF) works to preserve its legacy and to educate current and future generations about the enduring lessons of the Vietnam War on society. Despite our efforts and the efforts of countless educators, historians, journalists and veterans, today's young people have a limited knowledge of the Vietnam War. Many are not able to identify the major figures, issues and events of that era. And even more do not comprehend the lingering shadow cast by that war on our nation's politics and culture.

VVMF is committed to educating Americans about Vietnam and is dedicated to providing our citizenry and future generations with a better sense of responsibility, leadership and global understanding. To that end, VVMF has worked for two years with an educational advisory board comprising leading educators, historians and journalists and enlisted the aid of several well-respected educational organizations, including the National Council for the Social Studies, the National Archives and Records Administration, the Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University and WinStar Communications, Inc., to develop a balanced and comprehensive resource for America's high schools.

This collective brain trust now brings to you, ***Echoes From The Wall: History, Learning and Leadership through the Lens of The Vietnam War Era,*** an interactive curriculum enabling teachers to delve into the lessons of that chaotic period and charge their students with becoming enlightened historians and informed citizens.

Echoes From The Wall has been distributed free of charge to every public and private high school in the United States. We encourage educators to use these resources to provide students with a well-rounded perspective of the Vietnam War era. Vietnam tore our country apart, ***Echoes From The Wall*** will help ensure that we will never let it happen again.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Echoes From The Wall is the most ambitious undertaking the VVMF has initiated since the raising of The Wall in 1982. We are indebted to countless individuals and organizations whose commitment made this program possible. We are especially grateful to Nathan Kantor, President and Chief Operating Officer, of WinStar Communications, Inc., for his commitment to advancing VVMF's healing and educational mission. In addition to Mr. Kantor, special thanks are owed to WinStar for Education's Gary Markovits, Sha-Chelle Devlin-Manning, Mike McGinley, Dean Maule, Mike Potratz, Jennifer Franklin, Robert Howard, Dr. Ron Frankum and the many other committed individuals for their dedication, and expertise in the development of the VVMF Education Website, www.teachvietnam.org.

A panel of experts from across the United States worked together to develop the learning objectives, themes, and materials for this teachers' guide, including: Stanley Karnow, historian and winner of the Pulitzer Prize; Martharose F. Laffey, Executive Director of the National Council for the Social Studies; Gary Marx, Executive Director of the American Association of School Administrators; Don Oberdorfer, former diplomatic correspondent with ***The Washington Post*** and now with Johns Hopkins University; Lee Ann Potter and Wynell Schamel of the Office of Public Programs, the National Archives; Dr. James Reckner, Director of the Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Texas; Janet Rodkey of Northwest High School, Germantown, Maryland; Wayne F. Smith of the Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation; Kevin Bowen, Director of the William Joiner Center, University of Massachusetts Boston; Charles Desmond, Associate Chancellor, University of Massachusetts Boston; Rob Wilson and Stephen Sossaman of the Veterans Education Project, Amherst, Massachusetts; Robert Drinan, S.J., of the Georgetown University Law Center, Washington, D.C.; Bernadette Glaze of Fairfax County Schools, Fairfax, Virginia; Michael Gormalley of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States; William Hammond of the U.S. Army Center on Military History; Phil Straw, a Vietnam studies teacher; Joe Galloway of ***U.S. News & World Report***; John C. Dibble, attorney; Tim Mack, education consultant; Brett Farley, Jessica Ferguson and the staff of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund.

An initial draft was developed by Patricia Pearson of McLean High School, McLean, Virginia; and James Percoco of West Springfield High, Springfield, Virginia. The materials on oral history programs were developed by Stephen Sossaman and Rob Wilson of the Veterans Education Project, and the poetry-related materials were developed by Mr. Sossaman. The material was synthesized and designed into a curriculum guide using material and exercises on team and experiential learning by Rima Shaffer, Ph.D., lead instructional designer.

Reviews of and revisions to the curriculum were provided by Lindy Poling, North Carolina Social Studies Teacher of the Year; Christopher Wilken, a teacher in Succasunna, New Jersey; Anita Meisen, a teacher in Thomasville, Georgia; John Duffy, a teacher at Central High School, Hinsdale, Illinois; Mary Jane Turner, Ph.D., Curriculum Director for the Close Up Foundation; and others.

We are especially indebted to Walter Cronkite, an anchorman and correspondent for CBS Evening News during the Vietnam War era, for his spectacular video introduction on www.teachvietnam.org, as well as Mr. Cronkite's assistant Marlene Adler. The breadth of source material in the teachers' guide and the website were greatly expanded by the efforts of Carol Campbell of ***The Daily Oklahoman*** and chair of the newspaper section of the Special Libraries Association; Tobin Beck of ***United Press International;*** Mary K. Means of the ***Bradenton (Florida) Herald***; Charlene Neuwiller of ***European and Pacific Stars & Stripes***; Stephen Janger, president, and Joe Garrety, Close Up Foundation; Julie Briggs of ***The Washington Post***; and Nancy Hiegel and Jack Smith of ABC News.

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The Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund Board of Directors has provided invaluable guidance for the programs sponsored by the organization since its inception in 1979. We thank them for their foresight and assistance, without which ***Echoes From The Wall*** would not have been possible.

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THE LESSONS OF THE VIETNAM WAR ERA

HOW THIS TEACHERS' GUIDE IS ORGANIZED

The *Echoes From The Wall* teachers' guide contains materials and student assignments to support two complementary approaches to teaching the history of the Vietnam War. The guide has six separate modules covering various aspects of that era. Each module, in turn, consists of two sections. The two sections can be used separately or in combination. Both approaches encourage students to use the supplementary materials located in the appendices of this teachers' guide; the VVMF Education Website, www.teachvietnam.org; and two related sites, www.vvmf.org and www.thevirtualwall.org.

You may use this guide in several ways, for example:

- as stand-alone lessons to be taught in a traditional format of lecture, discussion, and student worksheets;
- as a basis for team learning in which teams of students teach their classmates about the Vietnam War era;
- to accompany the materials provided at www.teachvietnam.org; and
- in customized combinations, teaching some lessons in a more traditional format and some lessons using team learning.

Blinded by the blast of a NVA B40 rocket, a Vietnamese Marine receives first aid from a Marine medic.

This guide is designed to give students many experiences, including:

- using primary source material to conduct historical research;
- exercising critical and reflective thinking;
- identifying and empathizing with the historical experience of others;
- developing group interaction skills;
- developing skills in leadership; and
- developing skills in citizenship and civic responsibility.

The lessons and activities in this guide are designed so that you can choose material to fit your schedule and your students' learning styles. You may elect to use some or all of the material in this guide. Some student preparation can be done as homework, and much of the material will culminate in classroom discussions. Throughout this guide you will find questions for student reflection. These observations can deepen student appreciation of the complexities of the Vietnam War era. Students should keep a learning log where they can contemplate the material they are studying and use their reflections as a basis for classroom discussion.

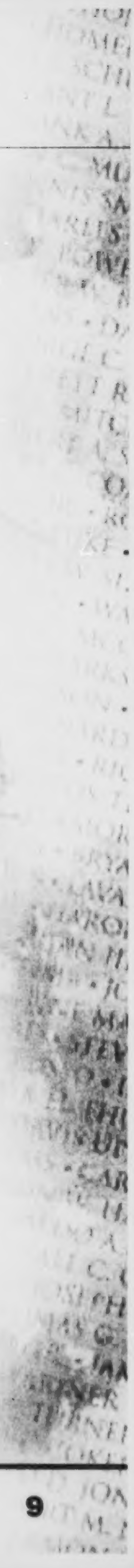
ABOUT THE VVMF EDUCATION WEBSITE

The cornerstone of ***Echoes From The Wall*** is the VVMF Education Website, located at www.teachvietnam.org, which has been designed in partnership with WinStar Communications, Inc. — leaders in bringing technology into the classroom. As a research and educational tool, the website is intended to maximize understanding of the lesson plan curriculum materials and ancillary cooperative learning classroom and homework exercises.

In addition to housing an expanding archive of source materials about the Vietnam era — including official government documents, newspaper articles, photographs, audio clips and video files — the site provides progressive educational tools for teachers and students. Some of these include interactive newspapers for research projects and other assignments; discussion areas which allow groups of students, teachers, historians and others to discuss political, historical, cultural and global issues related to the Vietnam War era; and a virtual learning journey through the country of Vietnam.

PLEASE NOTE: During the summer of 1999, teachers throughout the state of Illinois, along with staff members from the Illinois State Board of Education, mapped ***Echoes From The Wall's*** six modules to Illinois and Chicago Learning Standards as examples of how this interactive curriculum can be integrated into classrooms. Also, an Internet guide for the VVMF's www.teachvietnam.org and www.thevirtualwall.org websites and sample lesson plans were developed. This effort was led by Richardo Tostado, Learning Technology, Illinois State Board of Education, Ann Pictor, Social Studies consultant, Illinois State Board of Education, Rob DiPrima of Jane Addams Elementary School, Chicago; Susan Jean Hardin of Turner Junior High School, Jacksonsville, Illinois; Dan Russell of Tuscola School District, Tuscola, Illinois; and Cathy Sambo of Kinney & Associates. This work is available under the Teachers section of the VVMF Education Website, located at www.teachvietnam.org. We sincerely appreciate the commitment of these individuals and encourage other boards of education and educators to use Illinois' example as they proceed with incorporating ***Echoes From The Wall*** into America's high schools.

U.S. Army infantrymen cross a river.



LEADERSHIP MATRIX

The matrix that follows correlates the various activities in the modules with the results in citizenship and leadership cited in both the curriculum goals and strands in history and social science framework for the California public schools and a special series of articles in the May 1998 issue of *The School Administrator.*

Desired Result	Module 1	Module 2	Module 3	Module 4	Module 5	Module 6
Respect for plurality and diversity		Debate historic precedent for civil disobedience	Choosing to serve or not to serve	The experience of the Vietnamese		
Value individuality		Entire module	Choosing to serve or not to serve			
Work for the common good	All team learning assignments and jigsaw assignment	All team learning assignments	All team learning assignments	All team learning assignments	Entire module All team learning assignments	All team learning assignments
Civil and considerate interaction with others	All team learning assignments and jigsaw assignment	Entire module	All team learning assignments	Mock debate between Robert McNamara and Ho Chi Minh		
Engaging in empathy and perspective taking		Historical Head Debate documents about pro- and anti-war demonstrations	POW experience Choosing to serve or not to serve Lessons of My Lai	Official North Vietnamese and American views Legacy of U.S. attitudes towards Asians	Comparing the Vietnam Veterans' homecoming to the homecoming of the World War II veteran	
Making personal sacrifices		Material on conscientious objectors	Entire module	Sections on the Vietnamese allies of America		
Reflect on the responsibilities of citizens in a free society		Assignment five: learning log Assignment eight: learning log	Choosing to serve or not to serve Demographics of the draft The POW experience			

Desired Result	Module 1	Module 2	Module 3	Module 4	Module 5	Module 6
Use primary and secondary resources to make informative decisions and draw conclusions		Examining Hollywood depictions of war What songs about the Vietnam War say Using primary sources to learn about the pro- and anti-war positions Use of panels and living history interviews	Soldiers' letters home Living history interviews	Reading source material about Ho Chi Minh	Finding out if anyone who attended your high school is on The Wall Interviewing people from the Vietnam era	Living history interviews
Develop a keen sense of ethics and citizenship		Choosing civil disobedience	Choosing to serve or not to serve Analyzing demographics of the draft Appreciating the POW experience			Sections on Vietnamese refugees in America Living history interviews
Study major historic events and periods in depth	Lesson one	Entire module	Entire module	Entire module	Entire module	Entire module
Make judgments based on reasonable evidence, not bias and emotions	Probing analogies	Debate	Lessons of My Lai	Key players in North and South Vietnam Mock debate between Robert McNamara and Ho Chi Minh	Probing analogies	
Develop a commitment to public service		Material on pro- and anti-war views	Choosing to serve or not to serve The POW experience			
Engage in reflective thinking		Learning logs	Learning logs	Learning logs		

OTHER SPECIAL FEATURES IN THE TEACHERS' GUIDE

The use of learning logs

Learning logs are reflective journals kept by students. The purpose is to help students become more reflective in their study of history. They use the learning logs to record questions and observations they have as they conduct their studies of the Vietnam War era.

The use of teams and team learning structures

Team learning involves students teaching students. There are many advantages to team learning, for example:

- allowing the class to cover more material in greater depth;
- creating structures for "deep learning" to occur (deep learning allows students to remember more because s/he was actively involved with classmates in their own learning);
- creating structures and processes that enhance teamwork and cooperation;
- creating opportunities for students to engage in whole brain learning, satisfying many different learning styles;
- creating interdependency and cooperation among all students;
- fostering respect for the diverse talents of all classmates;
- teaching the importance of responsibility to one's peers; and
- fostering creativity.

A peer evaluation worksheet can be found at www.teachvietnam.org.

The use of primary resources to study the history of the Vietnam War

This guide contains many activities that encourage students to use primary resources to learn about the Vietnam War era including films, interviews with veterans and protesters, letters from veterans, high school yearbooks, and official documents from the United States and the North Vietnamese governments. Inviting participants in the war to your classroom is a particularly effective technique. Module 3, appendix A gives helpful suggestions on "inviting Vietnam veterans to share their oral histories with your students."

The lessons in this guide are designed to contribute to the citizenship and leadership education of the students who undertake them by:

- building respect for plurality and diversity;
- providing opportunities to practice civil and considerate interaction with others; and
- providing experiences that engage students' empathy and perspective taking.

USING TEAM LEARNING TO TEACH YOUNG HISTORIANS ABOUT THE VIETNAM WAR ERA

Team learning has many advantages:

- students learn from each other;
- students are more likely to remember what they learn for a longer period of time;
- multiethnic and gender cooperation and understanding is increased; and
- competition is decreased.

Team learning is structured to enable students to work together toward a common goal, enhancing each other's learning along the way. Because of the emphasis on teamwork and responsibility to one's teammates, team learning builds shared leadership and community accountability.

Students sometimes cover more material working in teams. Each team will engage in research inside and outside the classroom. They are responsible for exploring an issue and sharing their findings with the entire class. Often the sharing can be accomplished using inventive forms such as panels or video reports or by creating their own websites. Students research a topic, pool their research with that of their teammates, and creatively share their findings with the entire class. Thus, each student is responsible for teaching a part of the lesson to the entire class.

HINTS FOR BUILDING EFFECTIVE LEARNING TEAMS

- Set aside time for teams to have their initial meetings. Team members should all know the objectives of the assignment, the product they must create, and the standards for evaluation of their work.
- Stress the importance of making certain everybody is involved in the project.
- Urge team members to identify the skills, talents, and interests they bring to the team.
- At the end of each team meeting, team members should come to a common understanding of the tasks, individual responsibilities, team member's contributions, crucial time lines, deliverables, and due dates.

Team members should decide on with a set of "norms" or ways they agree to work together. You may wish to sit in on the initial team meetings and help members craft behaviorally specific norms (e.g., show respect for my teammates by following through on any task I have promised, not laugh at any idea).

SOME TOOLS FOR TEAM LEARNING

Brainstorming

What is brainstorming?

Brainstorming is a process in which team members contribute ideas they have on a specific subject.

What is the purpose of brainstorming?

The purpose of brainstorming is to create a nonjudgmental climate in which to generate many related ideas.

What is the process?

Team members respond to a question or topic by calling out all ideas that come to them. Someone records the ideas. The rules for brainstorming include:

- no idea is too silly to put forward;
- do not judge, discuss, or make comments on any of the ideas until the brainstorming session is over;
- keep the momentum up by keeping the ideas flowing; and
- designate someone to write down all the ideas during the session.

After the brainstorming session is over, the group can discuss the ideas and come up with criteria for selection.

Rounds

What is a round?

A round is the practice of going around the group to assure that every person has an opportunity to contribute to the discussion.

What is the purpose of rounds?

The purpose of rounds is to make certain that every person has an opportunity to speak about a given topic. Rounds are useful because they prevent the group from assuming that everyone holds the same view about an issue.

Rounds are used to:

- check out people's understanding of a discussion that has just occurred;
- encourage participation from less talkative team members; and
- prevent automatic assumptions that the entire group agrees with the viewpoints of the more verbal members of the group.

What is the process?

The team should make certain to go around the table and have each person speak on the issue.

Appreciative inquiry technique

What is the appreciative inquiry technique?

The appreciative inquiry technique is a series of focused rounds that help team members share information about what each member appreciated most about a meeting and what would add to members' appreciation at following meetings.

What is the purpose of the appreciative inquiry technique?

Appreciative inquiry provides a constructive process for gathering data about individual perceptions of how a group is functioning and ways to improve team processes. Appreciative inquiry is usually done at the close of a meeting so the group can obtain information about what worked well in a meeting and what could be improved at future meetings.

What is the process?

Appreciative inquiry is conducted in a series of two rounds. During the first round, each team member cites one thing s/he most appreciated about the meeting. During the second round, each team member cites one thing that would have added to his/her appreciation.

Straw poll decision making

What is straw poll decision making?

A straw poll is a tool used by teams to keep the consensus process moving forward.

What is the purpose of straw poll decision making?

This tool helps speed up the consensus process by helping a team separate issues they agree upon from ones they still must work on to reach consensus.

What is the process?

After the group has discussed the issue, the facilitator conducts a straw poll by asking each member to hold up fingers to indicate the range of their consensus.

You should then proceed accordingly:

- If all fingers are up, a decision has been reached.
- If some fingers are down, find out what would have to be changed to reach consensus.
- If some fingers are sideways, initiate discussion to answer the concerns.
- If one finger is up, that indicates a qualified yes to the decision.
- If all fingers are down, the decision is unacceptable.
- If all fingers are sideways, further discussion is needed.

EVALUATING STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN TEAM LEARNING

Teachers may find it difficult to accurately assess grades in a team situation. Here are some techniques you may use to evaluate student's work and make certain students do their fair share of work during a project.

1. Create learning contracts with each student team. A learning contract is an agreement between team members and the teacher. The student team members contract with the teacher for a grade. The contract should include the following items:
   - A description of the project the students will undertake;
   - A list of products that the team will provide as tangible evidence that the project is completed (e.g., our team will produce a fifteen-minute video on the U.S. POW experience in Vietnam); and
   - The students' criteria for success, for example:

     We believe criteria for an "A" grade includes:
     - consulting six primary sources;
     - explaining what POWs experienced on a daily basis;
     - making the experience come alive for our classmates;
     - explaining what North Vietnam thought of American POWs; and
     - consulting international treaties specifying how POWs were to be treated.
2. Help students create ground rules for team behavior and shared responsibility.
   - Ground rules describe how the team will work together and what the team thinks "working together well" looks like (e.g., we will attend all meetings and complete team assignments at agreed upon deadlines).
   - Discuss the concept of "social loafing" with your students. Social loafing occurs when some team members shoulder the load for the team, and other team members do not do any work.
   - Ask the teams how they will deal with social loafing.
   - Serve as a consultant to all teams, and be available for students to discuss and solve team problems.
3. Require each team to keep a written record of team meetings. The record should document all team decisions and work assignments.
4. Have team members grade each other for teamwork and shared participation. Factor these grades into the team's final grade.

1 MODULE ESCALATING INVOLVEMENT IN THE VIETNAM WAR

U.S. involvement in Vietnam began long before March of 1963 when Lyndon B. Johnson sent the first combat troops into Vietnam. Many historians tie their discussions of the U.S. relationship with Vietnam to the French withdrawal from Vietnam and the subsequent division of the country. In this module, students trace the history of U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

The Korean War (1950-1953), like Vietnam, was a by-product of the Cold War. Korea ended one year before the French defeat at Dien Bien Phu and was fought with Communist Soviet Union and China aiding North Korea and America assisting South Korea. Presidents Truman and Eisenhower treated Vietnam like another case of communist aggression directed by Moscow.

Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon and their advisors faced many decisions regarding the degree and type of U.S. involvement in Vietnam. The lessons in this module help students identify the issues key decision makers faced about American responsibility to Vietnam. In addition, decision makers used numerous analogies, including comparing U.S. involvement in Vietnam to containment of communism in Europe after World War II and comparing the war in Vietnam to conventional wars. Use these analogies to help students discover how the assumptions made by prominent decision makers affected U.S. policy in Vietnam.

During the aftermath of withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam and the Paris Peace Accords, Congress seized the opportunity to enact the War Powers Act on November 7, 1973. This piece of legislation was created in response to the attitude shift that had taken place in Congress since the 1964 passage of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which initiated full-scale conflict in Vietnam. In this module, students explore the effect of the War Powers Act on the president's authority to carry out military actions throughout the world.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

- identify the key decision makers and the decisions they faced about U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War;
- probe analogies that were made comparing the Vietnam War to other wars in American history;
- trace the escalating U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War;
- discuss 1968 as the turning point of the war;
- explore the ramifications of balancing the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution (1964) with the War Powers Act (1973);
- analyze the change in roles between the executive and legislative branches over war powers from 1964 to 1973; and
- evaluate the roles of the U.S. presidents who dealt with Vietnam.

President Lyndon B Johnson at his desk in the Oval Office of the White House.

Presidents John F. Kennedy (left) and Dwight D. Eisenhower.

MATERIALS

All lessons will be greatly enhanced by the use of the VVMF Education Website, www.teachvietnam.org, where many of the materials listed in the activities and lessons may be found, as well as this guide's appendices that include background information, biographies, and a glossary. The accompanying Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States (VFW) history guide provides statistical and chronological information from the Vietnam War. The ***Echoes From The Wall*** teachers' guide should be used in conjunction with a history textbook.

- Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, 1964 (module 1, appendix A)
- War Powers Act, 1973 (module 1, appendix B)

ACTIVITY: JIGSAW TEACHING METHOD

Identifying the key decision makers and the decisions they faced about U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. Use the jigsaw teaching method to teach the material on presidential involvement in the Vietnam War.

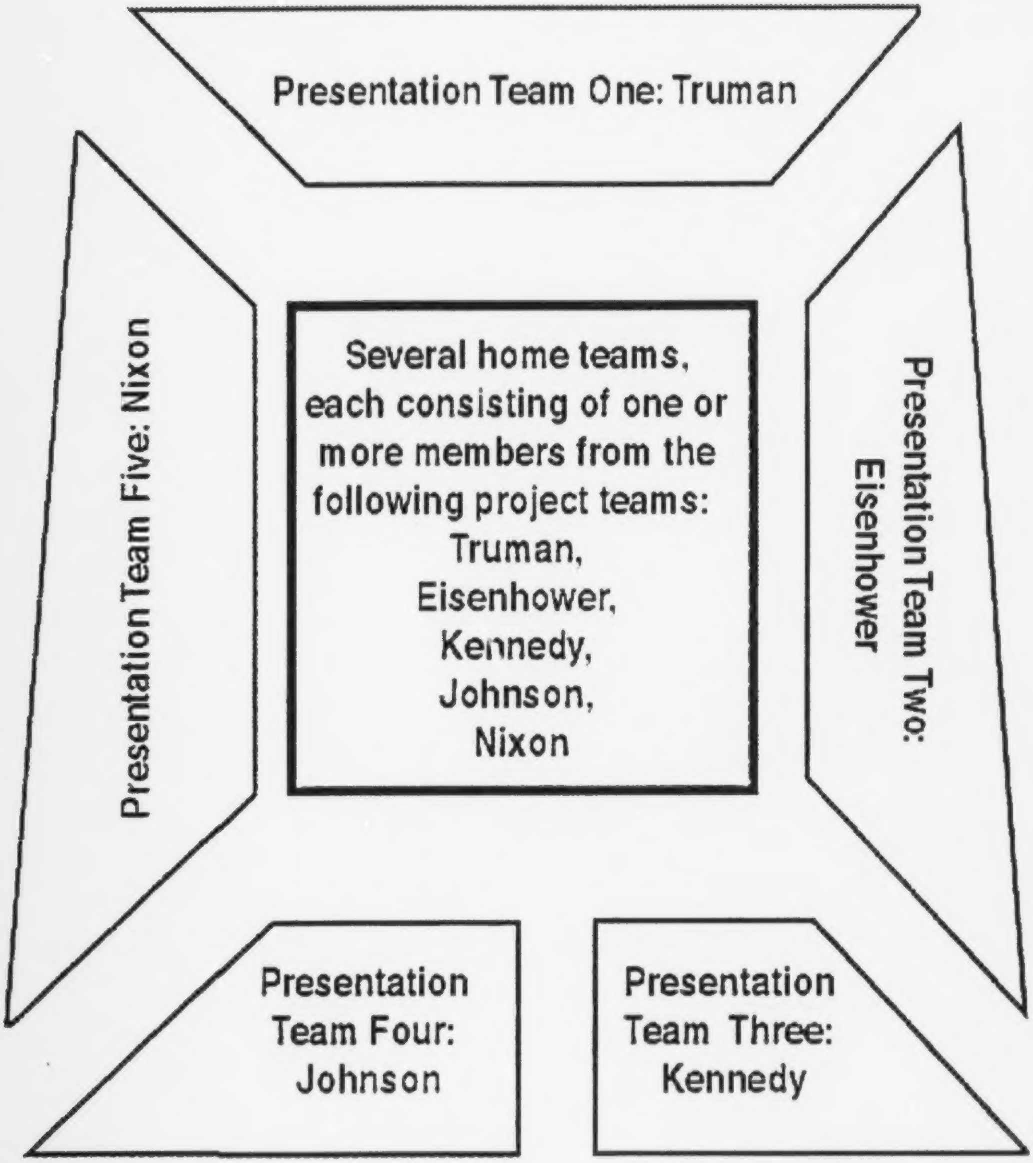
Instructions for the jigsaw teaching method

- Students will belong to two teams for this jigsaw exercise — a presentation team and a home team.
- The home teams should consist of at least one representative from each of the assigned presentation teams.
- Each presentation team will read the material assigned to it and prepare to teach the material to their respective home teams.

Team members should agree on the key points that others need to know and how they will present the information.

- For the jigsaw presentation on the roles of the U.S. presidents during the Vietnam War, divide students into five presentation teams.
  - Team 1, responsible for teaching their home team about President Harry S. Truman's policy and response to Vietnam.
  - Team 2, responsible for teaching their home team about President Dwight D. Eisenhower's policy and response to Vietnam.
  - Team 3, responsible for teaching their home team about President John F. Kennedy's policy and response to Vietnam.
  - Team 4, responsible for teaching their home team about President Lyndon B. Johnson's policy and response to Vietnam.
  - Team 5, responsible for teaching their home team about President Richard M. Nixon's policy and response to Vietnam.
- Presentation team members should work together to research and prepare their presentations. This process assures uniform quality presentations to the home teams.

After the presentation teams have completed their preparations, they should rejoin their home teams and present the material to their home teams.



Presentation Team One: Truman

Presentation Team Two: Eisenhower

Presentation Team Three: Kennedy

Presentation Team Four: Johnson

Presentation Team Five: Nixon

Several home teams, each consisting of one or more members from the following project teams:
Truman,
Eisenhower,
Kennedy,
Johnson,
Nixon

JIGSAW TEAM WORKSHEET

Identifying the key decision makers and the issues they faced about American Involvement in the Vietnam War

Complete the worksheet for your team's president. Use multiple resources to complete the following questions. Examine the roles of the presidents by using this worksheet as a guide for preparing an informative and creative presentation to members of your home team.

1. Name of president____
2. Dates the president was in office ______________________________
3. Political party ____
4. Political party in control of Congress ___________________________
5. Write a summary of this president's policy on Vietnam.
6. What steps did this president take toward the conflict in Vietnam?
7. Did this president's decisions show a change in policy over time? If so, give examples.
8. Did this president increase or decrease the role of the United States in Vietnam when compared with the previous president? If so, how?
9. How did this president keep the public informed of his decisions regarding Vietnam and the rest of Southeast Asia?
10. What is your evaluation of this president's policy on Vietnam

ACTIVITY: PROBING ANALOGIES ABOUT THE VIETNAM WAR

In their book, ***Thinking in Time***, historians Richard Neustadt and Ernest R. May suggest that a common pitfall facing decision makers is failure to probe their implicit analogies about why some current event is like something that happened in the past.

Policy makers made many implicit analogies during the Vietnam War era. Two of the most prevalent were:

1. Applying the "domino theory" to the Vietnam War is like the successful use of the Cold War containment policy in Europe and Korea where the spread of Soviet communism was thwarted.
2. Fighting the war in Vietnam is like fighting other conventional wars.

Neustadt and May offer a disciplined way to probe these analogies. You may wish to work with these or similar analogies with your students. Divide the class into two teams. Have one team probe the first analogy and the second team probe the second analogy. You may have to work with each team to get them started and to help them fill in some of the major beliefs that were prevalent at the time of the Vietnam War.

Student instructions for probing the analogy, "Applying the domino theory to the Vietnam War is like the successful use of the Cold War containment policy in Europe."

STEP ONE

Direct students to create a list of things policy makers knew about the Vietnam War at the time this analogy was made. Possible answers include:

- Communist guerrillas were trying to overthrow the government of South Vietnam, and
- North Vietnam had become a Communist country.

STEP TWO

Direct students to create a list of things policy makers did not know about the Vietnam War at the time this analogy was made. Possible answers include:

- the length and depth of U.S. involvement;
- what the response of the North Vietnamese would be to American intervention;
- what the response and/or support to the war from U.S. citizens would be;
- President Kennedy would be assassinated;
- what the level of difficulty would be in containing civil war where the two sides were difficult to distinguish from one another;
- the extent of commitment of the South Vietnamese to the war effort; and
- the stability and continuity of South Vietnamese leadership.

STEP THREE

Direct students to create a list of things policy makers assumed when they used this analogy about the Vietnam War. Possible answers include:

- the war was supported by world communism;
- the spread of communism in Southeast Asia could be contained by winning the Vietnam War;
- the United States could win the Vietnam War as it had the Korean War (1950-1953);
- Americans would support U.S. involvement in the war for an unlimited period of time;
- America's allies would support ongoing U.S. involvement in Vietnam; and
- Congress would continue to support the president's power to wage war.

STEP FOUR

Direct students to make two columns and create (1) a list of ways that applying the domino theory to the Vietnam War was like the successful use of the Cold War containment policy in Europe, and (2) a list of ways that applying the domino theory to the Vietnam War was not like the successful use of the Cold War containment policy in Europe. Following is a possible diagram:

Applying the domino theory to the Vietnam War was *like* the successful use of the Cold War containment policy in Europe.	**Applying the domino theory to the Vietnam War was *not like* the successful use of the Cold War containment policy in Europe.**
Both were efforts to contain the spread of communism. There was continued popular support for U.S. involvement in the Cold War in Europe. The president of the United States had unlimited powers to wage war during the Cold War in Europe.	The Vietnam War was a civil war; many of the invasions in Europe were between Communist and non-Communist countries. U.S. presidents did not know whether they would have continued popular support for our involvement in Vietnam.

STEP FIVE

Based upon their probing of the analogy, "Applying the domino theory to the Vietnam War is like the successful use of the Cold War containment policy in Europe," and their hindsight as students of history, what advice would your students have given to President Kennedy and his cabinet about U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War?

Student instructions for probing the analogy, "Fighting the war in Vietnam is like fighting other conventional wars"

STEP ONE

Direct students to create a list of things policy makers *knew* about the Vietnam War at the time this analogy was made. Possible answers include:

- this was a war between North Vietnam and South Vietnam;
- the war front included jungles, rice paddies, cities, and villages; and
- there was no easy distinguishing factor between guerrillas and noncombatant South Vietnamese.

STEP TWO

Direct students to create a list of things policy makers did not know about the Vietnam War at the time this analogy was made. Possible answers include:

- the level of difficulty and tactics involved in winning a guerrilla war;
- how long it would take to win this war;
- what the response of the North Vietnamese would be to U.S. intervention;
- what the response to and/or support of the war from U.S. citizens would be;
- the extent of commitment of the South Vietnamese to the war effort;
- the stability and continuity of South Vietnamese leadership; and
- the effect of the media in this war.

STEP THREE

Direct students to create a list of things policy makers assumed when they used this analogy about the Vietnam War. Possible answers include:

- we could train U.S. armed forces to fight a guerrilla war in South Vietnam;
- the United States could win the war;
- U.S. citizens would support American involvement in the war for an unlimited period of time;
- America's allies would support ongoing U.S. involvement in Vietnam; and
- Congress would continue to support the president's power to wage war.

STEP FOUR

Direct students to make two columns and create (1) a list of ways that fighting the war in Vietnam was like fighting other conventional wars, and (2) a list the ways that fighting the war in Vietnam was not like fighting other conventional wars. Following is a possible diagram.

Fighting the war in Vietnam was *like* fighting other conventional wars.	**Fighting the war in Vietnam was *not like* fighting other conventional wars.**
Males could be drafted as well as recruited.	The battlefield included rice paddies and jungles.
An opposing army could be defeated in battles using artillery, soldiers, and aircraft.	The enemy was often indistinguishable from the civilian population.
America's military leaders, who were victorious in other wars, would be victorious in Vietnam.	When the village became a battlefield, civilian casualties were high.
	It was difficult to use conventional techniques to fight an enemy that hid in underground bunkers and blended in with the civilian population.

STEP FIVE

Based upon their probing of the analogy, "Fighting the war in Vietnam was like fighting other conventional wars," and their hindsight as students of history, what advice would your students have given to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson about U.S. involvement in Vietnam?

Note: a team will be responsible for presenting and teaching the material in this module to the class.

TEAM ACTIVITY: ESCALATING INVOLVEMENT IN THE VIETNAM WAR

Assign a team to present an overview of the Vietnam War to their classmates. They may do this in any of the following ways:

- A stand-up report to the class;
- A retrospective documentary that they produce about the Vietnam War years; or
- A series of still images with accompanying commentary.

Students should be given the following resources to complete this assignment:

- The condensed version of ***Vietnam: A History*** (module 6, appendix A), by Stanley Karnow.
- Chapter 33 from the textbook, ***The Americans: A History***, by Winthrop D. Jordan, Miriam Greenblatt, and John S. Bowes.
- Chapter 30 from the textbook, ***The Americans***, by Gerald A. Danzer, J. Jorge Klor de Alva, Louis E. Wilson, and Nancy Woloch.
- The material on probing analogies about the Vietnam War found earlier in this module.

Team instructions: escalating involvement in the Vietnam War

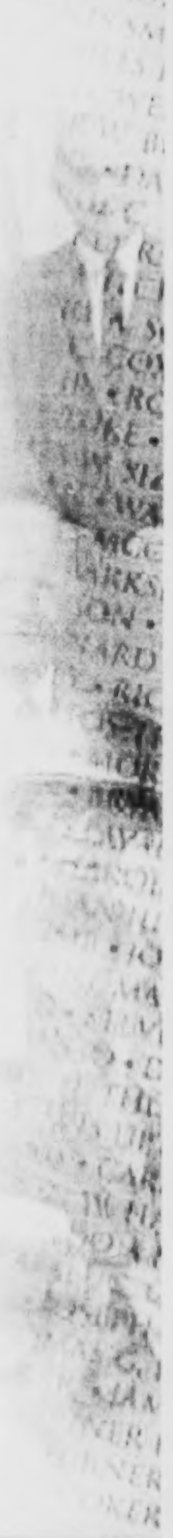
Direct students to present an overview of American involvement in the Vietnam War for their classmates. Their presentation can be a stand-up report, a mock news documentary, a series of display panels, or an interactive digital presentation.

Encourage students to try to help their classmates understand the following points:

- How did American involvement in Vietnam escalate?
- Who were the key players in this drama?
  - Which American presidents were involved in the Vietnam War?
  - What did each president do?
  - Who were the key leaders in South Vietnam?
  - Who were the key leaders in North Vietnam?
  - Who were the key American military leaders in the Vietnam War?
  - Who were the key American diplomats during the Vietnam War?
- How did the War Powers Act change the power of the U.S. president to wage war?
- What analogies were used by decision makers as they decided how to involve the United States in the war?

During their presentation, students should help their classmates identify the following players and concepts:

- Ho Chi Minh
- Containment
- Truman Doctrine
- Cold War
- Ngo Dinh Diem
- Communism
- Domino Theory
- Marshall Plan



2 MODULE CONFLICT ON THE HOME FRONT

The Vietnam War was fought on the home front as well as in Vietnam. In 1968 the United States was divided with intensity, similar to 1861at the start of the Civil War. This year, in many ways, was one of the most tragic in American history. The moral and social fiber of the United States was stretched almost to the breaking point, beginning with the Tet Offensive early in the year, followed by the assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the presidential hopeful Senator Robert Kennedy, the ensuing race riots in the wake of Dr. King's murder, the escalation of war protests on college campuses across the country, and the tumultuous Chicago Democratic National Convention. This module and the VVMF Education website use primary source materials (e.g., newspaper articles, video clips, popular music) to help students understand the breadth and depth of feelings and opinions for and against continued U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

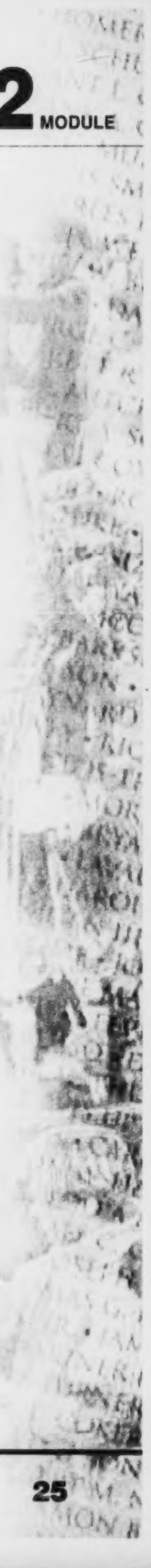
LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Carole North, president of the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia,speaks at the U.S.Capitol on October 5, 1970.

At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

- Analyze newspaper articles, video clips, and popular music to identify how divided the American public was about continued participation in the Vietnam War.
- Evaluate the role of the media and the coverage of the war.
- Discuss the growth of the anti-war movement on college campuses.
- Describe the nature and extent of public opposition to the war between 1965 and 1971.
- Discuss the role of popular culture in both reflecting and shaping public opinion.
- Explain the significance of 1968 in U.S. history.
- Identify key personalities, terms, and events of 1968.
- Determine the relationship between the various forces of change that affected the United States in 1968.
- Consider how the Vietnam War was part of a larger cultural and social phenomenon.
- Empathize with people who experienced the turmoils of 1968.
- Discuss the effect of the turbulence of the era on the nation as a whole.
- Interview veterans of the peace movement and/or Vietnam veterans, and critically analyze their comments.
- Discuss the multifaceted nature of the anti-war movements.
- Discuss the role that many Vietnam veterans played supporting and fostering mainstream public support for the anti-war movement.

Note: There is a wealth of material about conflict on the home front. You may choose any combination of these assignments for your students to complete.



MATERIALS

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- Excerpts from the Port Huron Statement (module 2, appendix A)
- ***Dear Abby*** column (module 2, appendix B)
- Lyrics to ***Where Have All The Flowers Gone?***, by Pete Seeger (module 2, appendix C)
- Lyrics to ***Ohio***, by Neil Young (module 2, appendix D)
- Excerpts from ***Hell No We Won't Go***, by Sherry Gershon Gottlieb (module 2, appendix E)
- Excerpts from ***The Strength Not To Fight***, by James W. Tollefson (module 2, appendix F)

ACTIVITY: WHAT SONGS ABOUT THE VIETNAM WAR SAY ABOUT SUPPORT FOR THE WAR

Have students read or listen to the following songs:

- ***The Ballad of the Green Berets***, by Barry Sadler
- ***Fortunate Son***, by John Fogerty
- ***Where Have All The Flowers Gone?***, by Pete Seeger
- ***Blowin' In The Wind***, by Bob Dylan
- ***What's Goin' On?***, by Marvin Gaye
- ***Ohio***, by Neil Young
- ***Fixin' to Die Rag***, by Country Joe McDonald

Have students discuss or write about what the lyrics of these songs imply about popular opinion during the war.

ACTIVITY: PRO-WAR AND ANTI-WAR ARGUMENTS

Use the VVMF Education Website to read newspaper and magazine accounts describing the pro- and anti-war arguments. Then choose any of the following activities for the students to discuss in class:

- Two popular bumper stickers of the 1960s were: "My country — right or wrong" and "America — love it or leave it." What do students think these slogans mean, and what kinds of people might have used them in the Vietnam War era?
- Study the Kent State photographs, and ask students for their reaction.
- How do students think that most people reacted to news of the events at Kent State interrupting television programs or appearing on the front page of the paper? What does the event suggest about the nation in 1970?
- Study the pictures of the girl burned by napalm, the sudden execution of a Vietcong (VC), and pictures of one week's U.S. dead in ***Life*** magazine. How do students think that most people reacted to these images interrupting television programs or appearing on the front pages of newspapers or in magazines?
- Pro- and anti-war sentiments often divided families and friends. (Many young men of draft age in the Vietnam War era had fathers who were veterans of World War II.) In what ways might those

who supported the war, because the government asked them to support it, be connected to those who opposed it? What tensions would this create in families and society? How might these tensions be similar or different from tensions faced by American families and communities during the Civil War?

ACTIVITY: HISTORIC PRECEDENT FOR CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Lead a discussion based upon the following questions:

- Where did demonstration organizers get their ideas for staging protest marches and vigils? In what ways might the goals of the anti-war movement and the civil rights movement overlap? Youth of the 1950s were known as the "silent generation." What labels could be given to youth of the 1960s? What would your students call their generation?

ACTIVITY: INTERVIEWING EYEWITNESSES TO HISTORY

Use the guidelines in the "Oral History" section of the curriculum (module 3, appendix A) to locate and prepare for a classroom presentation by an activist in the anti-war movement and/or a veteran or veterans with perspectives and experience with the anti-war movement. Prepare the students to ask questions that explore pro- and anti-war arguments and the effect of the peace movement on society.

- If you have time, have two people representing opposing viewpoints (one who staunchly supported the war and one who opposed it) speak to the students on different days. (See guidelines for locating veterans in the "Oral History" section.)
- Have students discuss or write about what they learned from the presentations and interviews. Pose the question, "How is what you heard similar to or different from what you learned from reading histories or viewing documentaries on the subject?"

Anti-war protesters shout insults at U.S. Army troops guarding the Pentagon on October 21,1967.

ACTIVITY: THE HISTORICAL HEAD, IMAGES FROM THE HOME FRONT

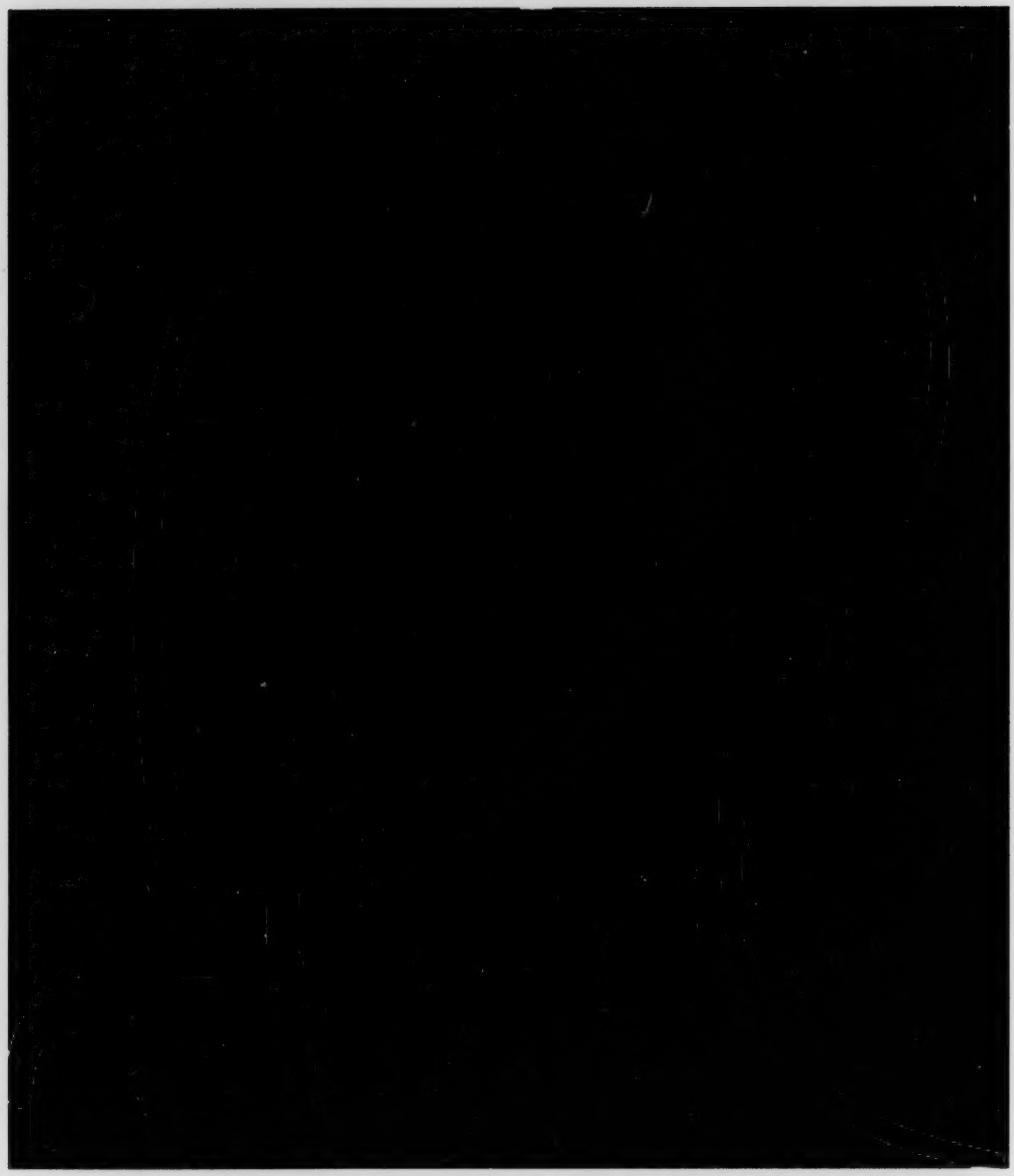
- Assign any of the following readings to students:
  - Passages in their U.S. history textbook that relate to 1968.
  - Selected passages from ***The Year The Dream Died: Revisiting 1968***, by Jules Witcover.
  - Selected newspaper or periodical articles from 1968.
- Provide students with a copy of the 1968 Historical Head worksheet.
- Assign students the task of interviewing their parents about the experiences of family members during the Vietnam War as soldiers or protesters.
- Consider bringing to your class veterans of the different military services; veterans who served in different years (1962-1972); and veterans who can serve as role models to the students, such as elected officials or business people.

HISTORICAL HEAD WORKSHEET

Directions: This activity is to be completed based on the teacher-assigned readings. Please fill in the Historical Head space with ideas and images you have found in your readings and/or research. The images that you choose should reflect what you have learned about 1968. For example:

> You may choose to select the thoughts and feelings of a student or a National Guardsman at Kent State University.
>
> or
>
> You might opt for the image of a pro-war demonstrator.
>
> or
>
> You might choose the image of a hippie placing a flower in the rifle stock of a soldier.
>
> or
>
> You may decide on another viewpoint that catches your interest.

Use the Hollow Head provided to complete the Historical Head assignment.



ACTIVITY: LEARNING LOG OR GUIDED CLASSROOM DISCUSSION MODULE SUMMARY

Encourage students to keep a reading-response log to record their reactions to what they read, hear, and see in this lesson. One of the difficulties they may have with the lesson is understanding the complexity of support for and opposition to the war. Keeping a reading-response log may help them clarify their thoughts in preparation for discussion.

Here are some questions you may wish to have students ponder in their learning logs:

- If you were a student in 1968, what do you think your position on U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War would have been?
- Are there things your country might ask you to do that you would refuse?
- Under what circumstances, if any, would you refuse to do what the law says you must do and engage in civil disobedience?
- What other examples in U.S. history can you cite of civil disobedience?
- In times of war, what do you think is the difference between civil disobedience and treason?
- What did the conscientious objectors and the draft evaders who left the country have in common? Had they given real thought to what they were doing? How do they differ? Were any or all of them justified in what they chose to do? Should any or all of them have gone to prison?
- If you were supporting the war, how would you have felt about the anti-war demonstrators circling the White House?

LEARNING LOG QUESTIONS

- If you were a reporter during the Vietnam War, what would you have said or written about U.S. involvement in the war?
- What do you think a reporter's duty is? How would you respond to the need to clear all information through official spokespersons?
- How should a reporter balance the public's need to know against the commander-in-chief's need to conduct and manage a war?
- Which of the various pro- and anti-war factions you studied would you join if you had been a student in 1968? Why?

ACTIVITY: ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN THE VIETNAM WAR

Have students read ***Reporting Vietnam***, by William M. Hammond. Assign the learning log questions below. Then lead a discussion of the ways Presidents Johnson and Nixon reacted to media coverage of the war. Invite a journalist who reported during the Vietnam War to your class. Most journalists are terrific with students.

Note: This is a large module, and you may wish to assign more than one team to present lessons to their classmates.

TEAM ACTIVITY: CONFLICT ON THE HOME FRONT

Give one team the assignment of helping classmates understand the conflict that existed in our country surrounding U.S. participation in the Vietnam War. The war divided this nation as no other event since the Civil War. Throughout the Vietnam War era, there was a full spectrum of arguments about why the United States should or should not commit troops and resources to fighting in Vietnam. Despite spirited protests, American voters in 1972 overwhelmingly reelected Richard Nixon, who promised "peace with honor," rather than electing Democratic candidate George McGovern, who pledged to withdraw U.S. troops and end American involvement in Vietnam.

Help your students gain a better understanding of the complexity of the issues surrounding U.S. involvement in Vietnam and the depth of passions on both sides of the issue. Here are some suggestions on how you might do this. First, have your students:

- Use the VVMF Education Website to read newspaper and magazine accounts describing the pro- and anti-war arguments.
- View video clips and images on the VVMF Education Website of anti-war demonstrations, anti-war teach-ins, and pro-war demonstrations.

After viewing this material, have your students:

- Debate the issue, "Resolved: the United States should commit troops, material, equipment, and military advisors to aid the South Vietnamese in fighting their war against the North Vietnamese."

Or

- Create a mock debate or public forum on both sides of the issue. Each person on the team should research the position taken by the person whose role s/he will play. Ask each student to dress like the person whose role s/he is are playing. Spokespersons may include:
  - Henry Kissinger
  - General William Westmoreland
  - President John F. Kennedy
  - President Richard M. Nixon
  - Senator William Fullbright
  - Jane Fonda
  - Tom Hayden
  - Dean Rusk
  - Robert McNamara
  - President Lyndon B. Johnson
  - General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
  - Daniel Berrigan
  - Daniel Ellsberg
  - The Chicago Seven

TEAM ACTIVITY: DOCUMENTARY ABOUT PRO- AND ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATIONS

- Direct students to create a documentary using source materials from the VVMF Education Website about unrest at home during the Vietnam War era. Have students include information about:
  - American protestors' visits to Hanoi;
  - the student demonstrations and related shootings at Kent State University;
  - the marches and protests in Washington, D.C.;
  - draft card burnings;
  - burning the American flag; and
  - demonstrations of support for U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

- Have students listen to popular songs from the Vietnam War era, such as ***Ballad of the Green Berets*** and ***Blowin' in the Wind*** and discuss how popular culture reflected and shaped the divided opinions about American involvement in the Vietnam War.
- Encourage students to use source material from www.teachvietnam.org relating to unrest at home during the Vietnam War. If the school has audio-visual equipment, students could videotape presentations by veterans and peace activists and use segments of the tape in their documentary.
- Students may describe the nature and extent of public opposition to the war between 1965 and 1971.
- Students may discuss the effect of the turbulence of the era on the nation as a whole.

Or

TEAM ACTIVITY: USING PRIMARY SOURCES TO LEARN ABOUT PRO- AND ANTI-WAR POSITIONS

Encourage interviews and/or invite people to speak to your class who took the following positions during the Vietnam War:

- a conscientious objector;
- someone who protested U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War; or
- someone who actively supported U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War.

Or

TEAM ACTIVITY: RADIO DOCUMENTARY ABOUT THE WAR AT HOME

Direct students to write the script for a radio documentary about disagreement over U.S. policy in Vietnam using multiple resources. As part of their script, have them create a commentary as reporters do on radio documentaries. Here are some suggestions for students creating the documentary:

- Explain the nature of the pro- and anti-war movements.
- Tell the story of a significant event or focus on a particular group (Vietnam Veterans Against the War, for example).
- Tape presentations by veterans and activists for the class and/or conduct interviews that may be taped for use in a documentary. (If students are creating a written script, these interviews may be transcribed.)
- Incorporate the lyrics from popular songs of the time into the script wherever they complement what is being said.

Anti-war demonstrators,including one dressed in a U.S. Army uniform, stage a sit-in at the Pentagon on October 21, 1967.

3 MODULE THOSE WHO SERVED

Young men and women made choices to either serve or not serve in Vietnam. This module provides an opportunity to explore the demographics of those who served.

Many who chose to serve sent letters home and kept diaries. In addition, Vietnam veterans have memories of that time. This module encourages the use of primary source material such as letters, diaries, panels, and interviews to help students gain a perspective and understanding of the soldiers' and nurses' experiences in Vietnam. This module also gives students an opportunity to learn about draftees; enlistees; conscientious objectors; and those who chose to leave the United States, rather than serve in the military.

An unfortunate part of any war is atrocity; Vietnam was no exception. This module also contains an examination of the My Lai and Hue massacres and places these massacres in the context of the history of military atrocities against civilians. In addition, you will find activities that help students relate wartime atrocity to peacetime leadership in their own communities.

The POW offers another lens through which to study the soldiers' experiences. This module gives students an opportunity to explore the conventions surrounding treatment of POWs, including documents pertaining to the expected conduct of POWs. In addition, this module provides primary source materials, letters, diaries, and poems of American and Vietnamese POWs.

Hollywood also created many films about the soldiers' experiences in Vietnam. This module contains activities to help students compare and contrast "reel" history to "real" history.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

At the end of this lesson, students will be able to do the following:

- Read and evaluate letters that were sent to loved ones in the United States by American servicemen and women stationed in Vietnam.
- Use primary source materials, such as letters from U.S. servicemen and women stationed in Vietnam, to study the relationship between the war's progression and morale of the service members.
- Use primary source materials, such as letters from U.S. servicemen and women stationed in Vietnam, to explore themes in warfare that are common to the experience of being a soldier.
- Use primary and secondary source materials to discuss the treatment and experiences of U.S. servicemen who were held as POWs by the government of North Vietnam.
- Examine the role of draft resistance, conscientious objection, and desertion as protest mechanisms.
- Compare and contrast the treatment of American POWs against such internationally recognized documents as the Geneva Convention.
- Identify and evaluate various reasons for refusing or evading military service.
- Chronicle the change in soldiers' attitudes as the war continued on.
- Assess the difficulties faced by those who served in Vietnam as they differed from earlier wars, such as:
  - inability to identify or understand the enemy;
  - the psychological impact of the one-year tour of duty and lack of a clear goal;
  - rotation by individual versus by unit;
  - morale problems in the military in the later years of the war no-win strategy; and
  - decompression problems between the war zone and a sometimes hostile home front.
- Analyze the historical validity of a motion picture about the Vietnam War.
- Assess the problems faced by American women who served in Vietnam.
- Analyze the experiences of minorities serving in the Vietnam War.

MATERIALS

All lessons will be greatly enhanced by the use of the VVMF Education Website,www.teachvietnam.org, where many of the materials listed in the activities and lessons may be found, as well as this guide's appendices that include background information, biographies, and a glossary. The accompanying VFW history guide provides statistical and chronological information from the Vietnam War. The ***Echoes From The Wall*** teachers' guide should be used in conjunction with a history textbook.

- Inviting Vietnam veterans to share their oral histories with your students (module 3, appendix A)
- Women in the Vietnam War (module 3, appendix B)
- African Americans in the Vietnam War (module 3, appendix C)
- Hispanics in the Vietnam War (module 3, appendix D)
- Tables from ***Working-Class War: American Combat Soldiers and Vietnam,*** by Christian G. Appy (module 3, appendix E)
- Letters by W. Kalwas (1970), T. Pellaton (1970), and R. Ransom, Jr. (1968) from ***Dear America: Letters Home From Vietnam,*** edited by Bernard Edelman (module 3, appendix F)
- Book excerpts — "A Pure Love of My Country Has Called Upon Me" (1861 letter by Sullivan Ballou); "Men Mutilated in Every Imaginable Way" (Civil War diary by Kate Cumming); "Our Country Right or Wrong" (a letter by Joseph E. Sintoni); "No Cause Other Than Our Own Survival" (by Phil Caputo); and "Helping Someone Die" (letter by Dusty) from ***Ordinary Americans: U.S. History Through The Eyes of Everyday People,*** edited by Linda R. Monk (module 3, appendix G)
- Perspectives on Events at My Lai and the Trial of Lt. Calley (module 3, appendix H)
- Narratives by Van Anh, People's Army of Vietnam; Colonel Norman A. McDaniel, USAF; Colonel Fred V. Cherry, USAF; Sergeant James Jackson, Jr., Green Berets; Larry Guarino; James N. Rowe; and Eugene B. McDaniel from ***Voices From Captivity: Interpreting The American POW Experience,*** by Robert C. Doyle (module 3, appendix I)
- Illustrations of American POWs taken from ***Prisoner of War: Six Years in Hanoi,*** by John M. McGrath (module 3, appendix J)
- Excerpts from the Hague Convention of 1907 (module 3, appendix K)
- Poems — ***Like Swans on Still Water,*** by Dana Shuster and ***A Veteran Attends A July 4th Barbeque*** by Stephen Sossaman (module 3, appendix L)
- Beyond the War: Hollywood and the Vietnam War (module 3, appendix M)

ACTIVITY: CHOOSING WHAT TO DO, LEARNING LOG ASSIGNMENT

Have students write an entry in their learning log answering the following questions:

- What do you think a citizen's responsibilities are to this country?
- For what would you be willing to risk your life?
- What are some advantages and disadvantages of entering the military after high school?
- During the Civil War some men paid five hundred dollars to keep out of the military. Should people with money be able to avoid military service in wartime?
- Some conscientious objectors in the Vietnam War served in hospitals or as Army combat medics, while others fled to Canada. Discuss your feelings about each.
- If you were old enough to serve in a war or be drafted, what would you choose to do if a country developed nuclear weapons and threatened to unleash them against the United States?

- Are there things your country might ask you to do that you would refuse?
- Was it fair for young men to legally avoid the draft through a college deferment during the war?
- Do you think many people are willing to suffer the consequences of their decision to disobey the law? Why or why not?
- What are some examples in U.S. history of these kinds of actions (e.g., Henry David Thoreau; Martin Luther King, Jr.; Chief Joseph of the Nez Pierce Tribe)?

Discuss student responses in class.

Or

ACTIVITY: LIVING HISTORY, CHOOSING TO SERVE OR NOT TO SERVE

- Create a panel of speakers to help students understand the reasons behind enlisting, serving after being drafted, choosing conscientious objection, and choosing not to serve. We recommend a panel of three. Possible panelists include:
    - someone who enlisted to serve in the Vietnam;
    - someone who was drafted to serve in Vietnam;
    - someone who went to Canada or Sweden to avoid serving in Vietnam;
    - someone who did not serve in Vietnam because their draft number was never chosen; and
    - someone who chose conscientious objection during the war and performed alternative service.

A staff sergeant rests during a lull in the fighting.

Hints for moderating a panel where people hold diverse views

One of the hallmarks of a democracy is the citizens' ability to hold diverse views and debate these views publicly. Structure the panel presentation so that each person has an opportunity to tell his/her story without interruption. Give each presenter an equal amount of time. Set the tone for the discussion by suggesting that it is not the object of the discussion to decide who was right or wrong, but rather merely to show that there were many strongly held divergent views about whether to serve the U.S. government by fighting in Vietnam.

Give students an opportunity to ask questions of all panelists after they have presented their stories. Thank all of the panelists for participating in the discussion.

Or

ACTIVITY: DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE DRAFT

Lead the class in a lecture discussion of the following points:

- The demographics of U.S. participation in Vietnam
    - This was the youngest army the United States has ever sent to war.
    - The perceived disproportion of minorities in the military and at the front lines.
    - The effect of draft laws on the representation of socioeconomic classes in the military.
- Compare the attitudes of those who went to Vietnam with those of participants in other wars.

Lecture and discussion questions

- How could a young man gain an exemption or deferment?
- What factors might motivate someone to choose to enlist? How would this explain, in part, the fact that the military did not always reflect the population as a whole?
- What was the average age of soldiers in World War II?
- What was the average age of soldiers in Vietnam?
- What might this difference mean in terms of the kinds of men who served and their civilian as well as military experience?
- What percent of those killed in Vietnam were black?
- What percent of those killed in Vietnam were draftees?
- What percent of those killed in Vietnam were volunteers?
- Are there discrepancies or differences in the demographics of those who served in Vietnam?
- Were minorities treated differently?

ACTIVITY: LETTERS HOME

Have students use the VVMF Education Website, www.teachvietnam.org, to read and analyze the letters sent home by soldiers. Students should choose several letters to read and analyze. They should complete their analysis and fill a Historical Head for each letter they have read.

Guiding questions:

- What do the letters have in common?
- How are they different?
- How might these letters differ from what men going into battle might say to each other?
- How might the women to whom the letters were written have reacted?
- What do you know about other wars and the ideals for which men were willing to die.
- What might have influenced the men who wrote these letters?
- Why would they feel the way they did?
- Might their attitudes affect the way they performed their duties? If so, how?
- Might men have felt this way in other wars?
- If there was a major war today, should women be drafted?

Guiding questions — for the women's diaries and letters home:

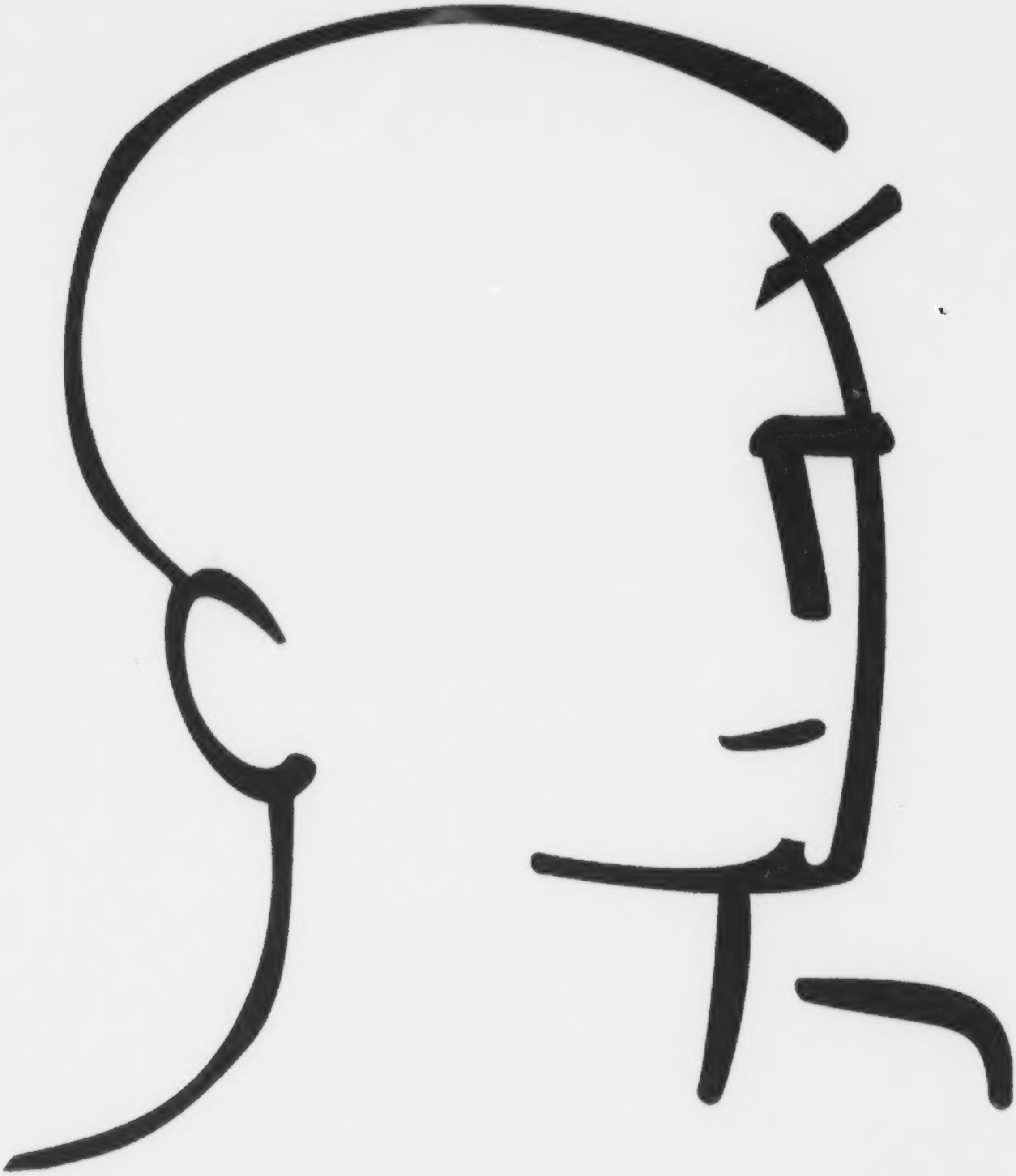
- Why are these women doing what they are doing?
- Has there ever been a draft for women?
- What would inspire a woman to choose such a job?

3 MODULE HISTORICAL HEAD WORKSHEET

Directions: This activity is to be completed based on the teacher-assigned readings. Fill in the Historical Head space with ideas and images you have found in your readings and/or research. The images chosen should reflect what students have learned from reading war time correspondence. For example:

1. You may choose several letters to read:
   - J. Sintoni's letter and defense of U.S. presence in Vietnam and the Sullivan Ballou letter; or
   - W. Kalwas' letter and T. Pellaton's, or
   - Dusty's letter and the diary of K. Cumming.

Use the Hollow Head provided to complete the Historical Head assignment for each person chosen.



- How did K. Cumming's situation differ from Dusty's? How was it similar?
- How will the role of women in warfare change as time goes on?
- How will it stay the same? Why?

ACTIVITY: LEARNING LOG QUESTION

- Are there causes or values for which you would be willing to give your life today?

ACTIVITY: THE LESSONS OF MY LAI

At My Lai, U.S. troops were involved in a terrible incident. This section will help students to better understand the tragedy and relevant lessons from this experience.

Direct students to read the overview of the My Lai massacre and related events below and on www.teachvietnam.org.

- *The Law of Land Warfare, The Uniform Code of Military Justice*, and the *Geneva Convention.*
- Excerpts from the book ***Four Hours in My Lai*** and other books and essays on war.
- The ***Newsweek*** poll of April 12, 1971, about public reaction to the verdict of Lt. Calley's trial.

Massacres at My Lai and Hue

Even wars have rules for unacceptable behavior. The Geneva Convention has elaborate rules about how prisoners are to be treated. Weapons allowed for use in warfare are even regulated by international agreements. For example, chemical and biological weapons, such as mustard gas, were outlawed after their use in World War I. Other weapons, such as bullets that expand after hitting a human target, are also outlawed for use in war.

The American Heritage Dictionary defines "atrocity" as "an act of vicious cruelty, especially the killing of unarmed people." Wars in the 20th Century have taken a heavy toll on unarmed civilians. Unarmed soldiers who have surrendered can also be victims of atrocities.

Two Marines fire at the enemy near the Demilitarized Zone on May 23, 1967.

My Lai

On March 16, 1968, Army Helicopter Pilot Hugh Thompson flew over the small village of My Lai. He looked in disbelief as he witnessed U.S. troops seemingly gone mad. The troops were burning the village and firing their rifles at unarmed Vietnamese civilians cowering for cover and begging for mercy.

Men of Charlie Company of the Americal Division were out of control. Their leaders, platoon lieutenants, and a captain were leading them into a day of infamy. As many as five hundred civilians were killed by grenades and automatic weapons fired at close range. The soldiers had suffered many casualties nearby in recent months and were taking revenge.

Thompson yelled from his helicopter, demanding that the massacre stop. When he saw a group of soldiers chasing some civilians he finally landed his helicopter. He instructed his crew to open fire on the U.S. soldiers if they harmed the civilians and risked his life in a successful effort to save a group of civilians and to try to stop the killing.

Not all soldiers with Charlie Company took part in the killing of innocent civilians. Some refused to fire their weapons. However, the carnage would not have occurred if the officers of Charlie Company had not taken part in and indeed *led* the killing of the civilians.

Few in the unit involved wanted the details of the massacre brought to light; but a former soldier, Ron Ridenour, continued to press for a full investigation. Journalist Seymour Hersh began investigative work that revealed to the American public what had happened at My Lai. He uncovered the details of how a group of angry and poorly led soldiers brought about a bloodbath in a rural, isolated Vietnamese village. A trial was eventually held. A conviction was obtained for Lieutenant William Calley (Calley was later pardoned by President Richard Nixon). The My Lai massacre further eroded dwindling American public support for the war.

Hue

All sides were guilty of atrocities. For example, during the Tet Offensive in 1968 when the VC and North Vietnamese forces captured the city of Hue. After the Communist forces took control of the city, VC soldiers rounded up anyone sympathetic to the South Vietnamese government. Most victims were shot. Others were beheaded or buried alive. It is generally accepted that Communist forces massacred three thousand unarmed civilians. They held the historic city for 25 days until dislodged by the U.S. Marines.

The VC and the North Vietnamese allowed no published accounts in North Vietnam of the massacre. There were no courts martial or trials of the soldiers who committed the atrocities that have been well documented by many sources, including ***The Washington Post*** reporter Don Oberdorfer. Soldiers who committed the murders have not written books or memoirs showing regret. Some apparently feel that the massacre was a necessary step in bringing about an ultimate Communist victory over the South Vietnamese government. In either case, under their form of government, none are free to write about what happened.

When soldiers murder civilians

Soldiers are trained to fight against and to defeat other soldiers. Sadly, modern history is brimming with examples of innocent, defenseless people being slaughtered.

In 1992 in Bosnia, some military forces took part in the murder of unarmed civilians. Some units also took part in the mass, organized rape of women. The United Nations War Crimes Tribunal brought some of the men who ordered the murders and rapes to trial in The Hague. The Tribunal was reestablished for the first time since World War II to prosecute individuals who took part in war crimes. Some convictions have taken place, including that of Dusan Tadic, a policeman convicted of murder, torture, and rape of prisoners in 1992 in Serbian detention camps. Most of the 75 men who were indicted remain at large. They include Bosnian Serbs, Bosnian Croats, and Bosnian Muslims.

In 1999 in Kosovo, some Serbian soldiers took part in the murder of civilians during a campaign of "ethnic cleansing," ridding the region of people who were culturally different. The Kosovars are largely Albanian Muslims. The Serbs are Christians. During the war in Kosovo, the United Nations began documenting the war crimes so that those who ordered or took part in the atrocities against unarmed civilians could be brought to trial and punished.

Slobodan Milosevic, the president of Serbia, during the repression of Muslims in Kosovo, was indicted for atrocities by the Hague Tribunal and, along with other Serbian officials, was charged with war crimes in the Spring of 1999.

Military atrocities against civilians

- *Lawrence, Kansas 1864* — Confederates known as Quantrill's Raiders invaded Lawerence, Kansas and killed nearly 150 of the town's males.
- *South Dakota 1872* — George Armstrong Custer and his men killed over 100 men, women, and children in a Sioux Village.
- *Armenia 1918* — Over one million Armenian civilians were killed by Turkish soldiers.
- *Germany 1945* — In World War II the German government tried to exterminate the Jews, Gypsies and others in Europe. Over eleven million died from Nazi efforts.
- *Cambodia 1977* — Communist Khmer Rouge killed over one and one half million civilians while conquering Cambodia.
- *Iraq 1988* — Several hundred civilian Kurds were killed in a chemical weapons attack on their village by the Iraqi Army.
- *China 1989* — Hundreds of pro-democracy demonstrators were massacred in Tiananmen Square.
- *Rwanda 1997* — Up to 200,000 unarmed civilians were killed in warfare between Hutu and Tutsi tribes.
- *Kosovo 1999* — Serbian soldiers killed thousands of unarmed civilians throughout Kosovo in what was referred to as "ethnic cleansing."

- Subactivity 1: Review the overview of the My Lai massacre and statements in ***Perspectives on Events at My Lai and the Trial of Lieutenant Calley*** (module 3, appendix H). Lead classroom discussion on whether soldiers and their leaders should be held accountable for their actions during time of war.
  - Why did the soldiers fear the Vietnamese civilians who were sympathetic to the VC?
  - The villagers were unarmed and posed no immediate threat. Is there any justification for the soldiers' actions?
  - Should an unarmed civilian ever be intentionally killed during times of war?

- Subactivity 2: After reviewing the statements in ***Perspectives on Events at My Lai and the Trial of Lieutenant Calley*** (module 3, appendix H) and the ***Geneva Convention*** and the ***Uniform Code of Military Justice***, make a list of observations on what happened at My Lai that includes:
  - At least five explanations of *why* the massacre happened;
  - At least three *justifications* that could be used to *defend* Lt. Calley, the men of Charlie Company, or other officers;
  - At least three arguments that could be used *to prosecute* the soldiers of Charlie Company, Lt. Calley, or other officers; and
  - From the reading they have done, do the students agree that Lt. Calley committed a crime and deserved a "guilty" verdict? Direct your students to write at least a paragraph that explains their own opinion using the reading to support their position.
- Subactivity 3: In a society with freedoms like those guaranteed by the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, the media is free to publish articles critical of the government. The media, largely through the efforts of Seymour Hersh, brought about massive public attention to the prosecution of Lt. William Calley. In communist Vietnam, however, the media is controlled by the government. When the VC and North Vietnamese slaughtered civilians in Hue, the Vietnamese were not informed. Even today most people still do not know.

- Why would a government want to control all radio, television, and news available to their people?
- What governments today control and decide what information their people can have?
- Why were those who organized the atrocities at Hue never prosecuted?

- Subactivity 4: In the 1999 Kosovo invasion, murders were committed by Serbian soldiers. Some believe that these killings were directed by high-ranking military officers and civilian leaders. Ask the students to provide an update on the individuals who are being sought for these activities by the United Nations War Crimes Tribunal.
  - Are the U.S. pilots who accidentally bombed civilian targets in Kosovo or Iraq war criminals? What could a U.S. pilot do that would make him/her a war criminal?
  - What penalty should the War Crimes Tribunal impose for the crime of rape?
  - What should be done to civilian leaders who start military conflicts such as the "ethnic cleansing" of Kosovo, knowing that his soldiers will round up and kill civilians?

- Subactivity 5: Lead a classroom discussion on current military conflicts and internal rebellions throughout the globe.
  - How many wars are ongoing in Africa, South America, and Asia?
  - Is the United Nations War Crimes Tribunal attempting to prosecute everyone who has committed or is committing war crimes?
  - Should the United Nations be making efforts to find and punish war criminals worldwide?
  - Do you think that the people of Iraq or Serbia consider the U.S.'s bombing campaigns as criminal?

- Subactivity 6: Alex Chadwick, a Vietnam veteran who is now a journalist, offered young people the following advice when he reflected on his Army experience in Vietnam: "You can do things in war that seem alright because it's war and the rules are different. Afterwards you'll go back to normal life, you'll reexamine what you did...remember that. Governments don't have consciences; you do. You will have to live with your conscience." Write the quote so all students can see it, or distribute it to the class. Then have students read the statements in ***Perspectives on Events at My Lai and the Trial of Lieutenant Calley*** (module 3, appendix H). Lead a discussion, or have students write a paper that responds to one or both of the following points:
  - Like Chadwick, some men who were in Charlie Company also talk about the "rules" of war being different. One says that the "laws back home" did not matter in combat. Who were those men? What are some of the "rules" that the men of Charlie Company followed? What are the rules or laws that should have applied?
  - Chadwick says that "you will have to live with your conscience." What does he mean? Can you identify some of the men who were at My Lai who are having trouble living with their consciences? Who are they?

- Subactivity 7: What about the concept of leadership in communities?
  - Are there leaders who get people to commit acts that are wrong?
  - Do leaders persuade young people to use narcotics or resort to violence?
  - How many students in your classroom have done something wrong because of pressure by a group?

- Suppose your students saw a group of people harassing a handicapped person or assaulting an innocent person. Should they try to stop it?
- What do your students think motivated Hugh Thompson to risk his life to stop the My Lai massacre?

ACTIVITY: THE POW EXPERIENCE

Have students use www.teachvietnam.org to view pictures and documents relating to the POW experience. They will view pictures of the tiger cages used for solitary confinement, legal documents on treatment of POWs, and written accounts of the POW experience. Read ***Confederates in the Attic*** and compare the experience of a prisoner in the Civil War with the POW experience in Vietnam. Materials will include the following:

- Assorted POW narratives (module 3, appendix I)
  - Colonel Norman A. McDaniel, USAF
  - Sergeant James Jackson, Jr., Green Berets
  - Eugene B. McDaniel
  - Larry Guarino
  - Colonel Fred V. Cherry, USAF
  - Poem by James N. Rowe
- Narrative of Van Anh, Member People's Army of Vietnam (North Vietnamese) (module 3, appendix I)
- Illustrations of American POWs in Vietnam taken from John M. McGrath's ***Prisoner of War: Six Years in Hanoi*** (module 3, appendix J)
- General Order 100 — ***The Rules of Land Warfare***
- Section 1, "On Belligerents," chapter 2, articles 4-20, from the document revised at the Hague Convention of 1907 (module 3, appendix K)
- Code of Conduct for Members of the Armed Forces of the United States

Lead a discussion covering some of the following points:

- Discuss the legal/international criteria relating to POWs and their treatment.
- Explain the difficulty of interpretation and implementation of legal/international criteria relative to POWs and their treatment.
- Discuss specific case accounts of Americans held as POWs in North Vietnam.
- Compare and contrast the attitudes of U.S. POWs of different wars.
- If an American serviceman was captured by enemy forces, how would that individual respond and how might s/he expect to be treated?
- In what ways are these accounts similar? In what various ways did these American POWs respond to their capture?
- How do these accounts reflect the North Vietnamese attitudes toward international agreements pertaining to the treatment of POWs?
- How do you think using the Smitty Harris tap code helped American POWs survive their captivity? If you were a POW, what do you think you might have done to survive?
- James N. Rowe was held in solitary confinement in a small cage. From his cramped prison cell he could see the U Minh Forest. What mood does Rowe's poem convey? Why do you think that Rowe wrote this poem?

ACTIVITY: POEMS OF THE VIETNAM WAR

Read the poem ***A Veteran Attends A July 4th Barbeque,*** by Stephen Sossaman (module 3, appendix L). Ask students the following questions:

1. What evidence suggests that the veteran is troubled by the war?
2. What remembered images appear to the veteran?
3. What two types of rockets are meant in line 7?
4. What is happening in line 12?
5. How does the 4th of July remind the veteran of the Vietnam War?
6. How might the advice given to the veteran by others at the barbeque be ironic?

Read the poem ***Like Swans on Still Water,*** by Dana Shuster (module 3, appendix L). Ask students how the metaphor of the ugly duckling applies to nurses in Vietnam.

American soldiers share letters and photographs from home.

TEAM ACTIVITY: HOLLYWOOD GOES TO WAR

This lesson material is developed around a long-term assignment whereby students, for a research project, watch selected film clips on Vietnam, make an assessment of the film clips, and then report their findings to the class. Students should be directed to look for how a film interprets the war and what slants or biases related to the war are present in each film clip.

Since our involvement in Vietnam, the motion picture and television industries have produced several feature-length motion pictures and documentaries related to that topic. As with any art form, these films contain the producer's or director's interpretation of this event. Following are some films you might wish to see when implementing this lesson and research project.

Column A [Hollywood Versions of the War]	**Column B** [Documentaries about the War]
Born on the Fourth of July	*The Anderson Platoon*
The Green Berets	*Vietnam: Long Time Coming*
Apocalypse Now	*The Thousand Day War*
Full Metal Jacket	*Vietnam: A Television History*
Good Morning, Vietnam	*Hearts and Minds*
The Deer Hunter	*Vietnam (episode from CNN's* Cold War *series)*
Platoon	
Heaven and Earth	
The Hanoi Hilton	

Note: You may wish to choose the clips carefully to avoid using any materials that may violate community standards and guidelines concerning profanity in classroom teaching materials. As a class assignment, each student can write a movie review after viewing a complete film. The teacher can assign a "Siskel and Ebert" type of presentation to the class about the movie.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE STUDENTS *(please copy this for your students)*

You will be engaged in a long-term research project that explores the Vietnam War through the lens of the feature-length motion picture. You are to view clips from the selected films. View clips from column A and column B. After watching the clips as a group, you are to investigate the place of your assigned film in context to the "real" history of the war as opposed to the "reel" history of the war.

On the day that you are assigned to present your findings, you are to come to class prepared to:

- Provide your classmates with a brief synopsis of the theme and plot of the film.
- Present to your classmates your findings about the film and how it adheres to a true historical reality or where the director/producer has taken liberties to interpret the film and the history of the war in a particular way.
- Show your classmates a five- to ten-minute clip from the film that demonstrates some aspect of your findings.
- Compare and contrast the film clips you have chosen from column A with the film clips you have chosen from column B.
- Discuss how films portray women's involvement in the Vietnam War.

THE VIETNAMESE AND VIETNAM

4 MODULE

Any history of the Vietnam War would be incomplete without a discussion of key players in North and South Vietnam and the history of that region. This module and the VVMF Education Website provide information on the leaders and decision makers in North and South Vietnam. This module discusses the effects of the war on the region. Primary sources are provided to help students understand the viewpoints of these key decision makers.

The wages of many years of war are reflected in the faces of this aged Vietnamese couple, evacuated from Viet Cong terrorism to a U.S. refugee center in 1965.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

At the end of this lesson, students will be able to do the following tasks:

- Identify the key players in North and South Vietnam during the Vietnam War era.
- Present both North Vietnam's and the United States' view on the Vietnam War.
- Analyze the historical impact of American attitudes concerning Asians on the conduct of the Vietnam War.
- Use primary source materials, information from oral history presentations, interviews with the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) veterans, and readings to discuss the make-up and morale of the ARVN forces and their relationship with their U.S. allies.
- Use primary source materials (e.g., letters, poems) and readings to discuss the make-up, morale, and experience of the VC and North Vietnamese Army (NVA) forces.
- Compare and contrast the treatment of NVA and VC prisoners by U.S. and ARVN forces to the treatment of U.S. prisoners by the North Vietnamese.
- Discuss the impact of the war on Vietnamese citizens.
- Discuss the basic philosophical, religious, and political beliefs that shaped Vietnamese society.
- Discuss the experience of the South Vietnamese civilians during the war.
- Discuss the experience of the North Vietnamese civilians during the war.

MATERIALS

All lessons will be greatly enhanced by the use of the VVMF Education Website, www.teachvietnam.org, where many of the materials listed in the activities and lessons may be found, as well as this guide's Appendices which include, background information and a biographies and glossary section. The accompanying VFW history guide provides statistical and chronological information from the Vietnam War. The ***Echoes From The Wall*** teachers' guide should be used in conjunction with a history textbook.

- Excerpts from ***Vietnam: A History,*** by Stanley Karnow (module 4, appendix A)
- Poem — ***Mourning the Death, by Hemorrhage, of A Child from Honai,*** by Basil T. Paquet (module 4, appendix B)
- Political Report of the Charter Committee delivered during the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam (module 4, appendix C)

ACTIVITY: KEY PLAYERS IN NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAM

Use www.teachvietnam.org to collect images and information about the key players in North and South Vietnam. Students should read material about North and South Vietnam to understand the positions and major concerns of these key players.

Have your students write a paragraph identifying each of the following key players:

- Pham Van Dong
- General Vo Nguygen Giap
- Le Duc Tho
- Madame Ngo Dinh Nu
- Ho Chi Minh
- Duong Van Minh
- Ngo Dinh Diem
- Nguyen Cao Ky

ACTIVITY: CONTRASTING THE OFFICIAL NORTH VIETNAMESE VIEW WITH THE OFFICIAL U.S. VIEW

Instruct your students to read the documents provided on North Vietnam on www.teachvietnam.org. Have them write a paper discussing the official views of Ho Chi Minh and Robert McNamara, and what they think these leaders would have said to each other.

ACTIVITY: THE LEGACY OF AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD ASIANS IN PREVIOUS WARS

Lead a discussion about the attitudes Americans displayed toward Asians in previous periods of history. Students might review material on the Boxer Rebellion, McKinley's remarks about Filipinos ("our little brown brothers"), and the treatment of Chinese railroad workers. Have students read ***War Without Mercy*** to gain a better understanding of attitudes in the Pacific during World War II. Have attitudes toward Asians been different from attitudes toward other foreign or immigrant groups? If so, why?

ACTIVITY: THE CULTURE OF VIETNAM

Have students read excerpts from ***The Vietnam Guidebook,*** by Barbara Cohen, Houghton Mifflin. This book provides material for discussing and understanding the culture, history, arts, and economy of Vietnam.

ACTIVITY: POEM FOR A CHILD FROM HONAI

Have students read the poem ***Mourning the Death, by Hemorrhage, of A Child from Honai,*** by Basil T. Paquet (module 4, appendix B), and reflect in their learning logs.

- How does the poet think governments view children in the war?
- What do you think the poet means by "And after the first death, the many must go unmourned?"
- What do you think is the difference, if any, between the "battles for the body politic" and the lives of ordinary people?

ACTIVITY: UNDERSTANDING OUR ALLIES IN SOUTH VIETNAM

Have students prepare a report on the South Vietnamese military forces. Use suggested readings from this module, resources on www.teachvietnam.org, and oral history resources. Here are some suggestions for topics.

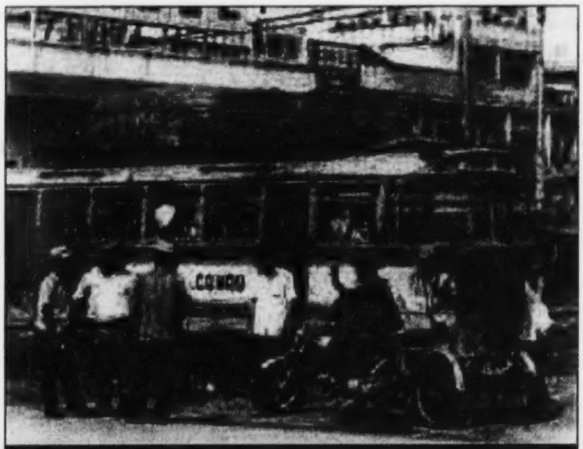
- Identify the South Vietnamese military and paramilitary forces. Describe how they worked with U.S. forces in Vietnam. You may write a historical overview of their evolution over the course of the war, or write about their involvement during a particular part of the war. You may choose to focus on a particular part of the military, such as the South Vietnamese Navy or the Hmong.

- If there is a Vietnamese community in your neighborhood, invite a veteran of the Vietnamese forces into your classroom. Review the material on the ARVN forces, and prepare questions to ask the speaker.

ACTIVITY: THE VC AND THE NVA

Have students prepare a report on the military forces fighting for North Vietnam. Use suggested resources from this module, as well as from the VVMF Education Website. Here are some suggestions for topics.

- Identify the differences between the NVA and the VC.
- Discuss how the tactics of the VC and the NVA differed from those of the U.S. military.
- Compare the letters and poems written by North Vietnamese soldiers to the letters written by U.S. soldiers.
- Compare and contrast the attitudes and morale of both groups.



A policeman checks bus passengers'identification cards.Viet Cong,who did not carry valid identification cards, sometimes were found in routine checks of buses and sampan "taxis."

ACTIVITY: NORTH VIETNAMESE POWS

Have students compare and contrast the treatment of NVA and VC prisoners in Vietnamese or U.S. custody to the treatment of U.S. POWs by the North Vietnamese. How was the treatment similar? How was it different?

ACTIVITY: THE IMPACT OF THE WAR ON VIETNAMESE CIVILIANS

Have students review the information available on Vietnamese civilians and prepare a report on how the war affected their society and their day-to-day lives. Here are some suggestions:

- Describe, compare, and contrast the experiences of the civilians living in the cities of Vietnam with those living in the countryside. Identify some of the ways the war changed the lives of Vietnamese civilians.
- Describe the experiences of civilians living in North Vietnam. How were they similar or different from the experiences of civilians in South Vietnam?
- Describe the U.S. military's program to help win the "hearts and minds" of rural peasants in South Vietnam. How did it work? Did it succeed or fail? Why?

ACTIVITY: VIETNAMESE CULTURE AND THE WAR

Have students explore the religious, philosophical, and political beliefs of the Vietnamese people (e.g., Buddhism, Catholicism, Confucianism, Communism). How did these beliefs work together or conflict?

TEAM ACTIVITY: THE VIETNAMESE AND VIETNAM

North Vietnamese Leader
Ho Chi Minh

The assignment is to have your students help each other understand the key players in North and South Vietnam during the war.

There are many ways students can complete this assignment. They can use the VVMF Education Website to collect images and information about the key players.

Be certain to include the following individuals in your discussion:

- Pham Van Dong
- General Vo Nguygen Giap
- Le Duc Tho
- Madame Ngo Dinh Nu
- Ho Chi Minh
- Duong Van Minh
- Ngo Dinh Diem
- Nguyen Cao Ky

Students may present their findings to their classmates in any of the following ways:

- a stand up presentation,
- a report where they appear in costume as the key players, or
- a documentary film or magazine article that they write or produce to explain who the key players were in North and South Vietnam during the war.

Or

Direct students to read documents provided on the VVMF Education Website. Have the students create either an encounter or a mock debate between Ho Chi Minh and Robert McNamara. What do they think each spokesperson for his country's official view of the Vietnamese War would have to say to each other?

Or

Direct students to read documents on the diminishing support in South Vietnam for the war effort. Have the students pretend they are advisors to President Johnson. What intelligence would they provide President Johnson about South Vietnam's staying power?

U.S. Secretary of Defense
Robert McNamara

THE WALL AS HEALER

5 MODULE

The Wall, the Three Servicemen statue, and the Vietnam Women's statue honor all those who served in the Vietnam War. In addition, this collective memorial has helped to heal the deep wounds created by this war. This module contains information about the designer of The Wall, Maya Ying Lin, as well as poetry about The Wall. You may use this module to help students understand the effect of The Wall, and you may even encourage students to design their own memorial.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

- examine the experience of soldiers returning home from Vietnam;
- describe the effect of The Wall on a nation divided by war;
- discuss the shift that took place in war memorial design with the selection of the The Wall; and
- explain the controversy and compromises made to erect The Wall on the Mall in Washington, D.C.

MATERIALS

All lessons will be greatly enhanced by the use of the VVMF Education Website, www.teachvietnam.org, where many of the materials listed in the activities and lessons may be found, as well as this guide's appendices that include background information, biographies, and a glossary. The accompanying VFW history guide provides statistical and chronological information from the Vietnam War. ***The Echoes From The Wall*** teachers' guide should be used in conjunction with a history textbook.

- Poem — ***The Wall***, by Doug Anderson (module 5, appendix A)
- Poem — ***Christmas in Child's World***, by Stephen Sossaman (module 5, appendix B)
- Speech by General Alexander M. Haig, Jr. given at The Wall on Memorial Day 1999 (module 5, appendix C)

BACKGROUND

Maya Ying Lin's early 1980s design for the nation's Vietnam Veterans Memorial was a dramatic departure from other monuments. It was not only her design of the memorial, but also the projected siting of the monument on the National Mall in Washington, D.C., that aroused the ire of several individuals and groups. But controversy has attended a number of American icons, such as the Washington Monument, the Lincoln Memorial, and the Franklin Delano Roosevelt National Memorial (whether he should be portrayed with or without his wheelchair). However, the controversy over the Vietnam Veterans Memorial has proved to be one of the most contentious debates regarding monuments in public memory. Perhaps it was fitting given the divisive nature of the war. Some individuals were offended by the abstract nature of a black granite memorial in a space that consisted of only edifices that were white or marble, most specifically the U.S. Capitol, the Washington Monument, and the Lincoln Memorial. Others argued that The Wall, in its abstraction, was too radical a departure from the figurative tradition of honoring the American warrior. Consensus was difficult to reach.

The greatest challenge for any artist, of a memorial to be placed in such an important public space as the Mall, is to satisfy their own individual creativity; address the needs of the constituency, in this case the Vietnam veterans; and the needs of the nation as a whole. Trying to find the right balance for this is very difficult.

ACTIVITY: COMPARING THE VETERANS' WELCOME HOME IN WORLD WAR II TO THE VIETNAM VETERANS' HOMECOMING

Have students look at photographs of ticker tape parades honoring veterans returning from World War II. Explain how the initial public reception of Vietnam veterans differed from the public reception veterans in earlier wars received upon returning home. Guest speakers can be very effective for this activity.

ACTIVITY: THE EFFECT OF THE VIETNAM VETERANS MEMORIAL

Discuss the effect The Wall has had in healing the wounds this country incurred during the Vietnam War. Conduct interviews with veterans about their homecoming and their personal reflections about the building of The Wall and its significance to them. Discuss the effect of the Three Servicemen statue and the Vietnam Women's Memorial.

ACTIVITY: MAYA YING LIN AND THE VIETNAM VETERANS MEMORIAL

Maya Ying Lin designed the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. Have the class discuss the following points.

- Maya Ying Lin's statement about her design.
- How Maya Ying Lin's design was chosen for The Wall.
- The reason(s) she gave for designing such a simple abstract memorial, rather than a more traditional war monument with figures of soldiers.
- The funding source for The Wall and why this was important to the project sponsors.
- The important figures who played a role in the process of raising funds for and supporting The Wall. Why were these people important?
- The symbolism of Maya Ying Lin's design. Your thoughts about the appropriateness of the design.
- The controversies over the design and placement of The Wall.
- How the differences between the various groups were resolved. Your thoughts regarding the appropriateness of these compromises.

ACTIVITY: POETRY ABOUT THE WALL

Have students read Doug Anderson's poem, ***The Wall***, (module 5, appendix A) and Stephen Sossaman's poem, ***Christmas in Child's World*** (module 5, appendix B).

Lead a discussion. Be sure to include the following points:

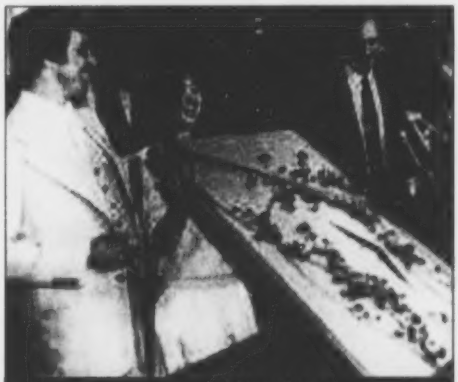
- Doug Anderson uses the metaphors of a scar and a crook of the arm to cradle the head to describe The Wall. How can it be both?
- What does Doug Anderson mean when he asks, "How long a wall?"
- Why does Stephen Sossaman think there is no model kit for The Wall?

ACTIVITY: MAYA YING LIN

View the Academy Award-winning documentary, ***Maya Lin: A Strong Clear Vision*** and/or read the following statement explaining her idea for the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. Discuss the thinking behind Maya Ying Lin's design.

Statement by Maya Ying Lin as part of her competition submission, March 1981

Walking through this park-like area, the memorial appears as a rift in the earth, a long, polished, black stone wall, emerging from and receding into the earth. Approaching the memorial, the ground slopes gently downward and the low walls emerging on either side, growing out of the earth, extend and converge at a point below and ahead. Walking into this grassy site contained by the walls of the memorial we can barely make out the carved names upon the memorial's walls. These names, seemingly infinite in number, convey the sense of overwhelming numbers, while unifying these individuals into a whole.



Jan C. Scruggs (left) and Maya Lin present her winning design for the Vietnam Veterans Memorial to the press.

The memorial is composed not as an unchanging monument, but as a moving composition to be understood as we move into and out of it. The passage itself is gradual; the descent to the origin slow, but it is at the origin that the memorial is to be fully understood. At the intersection of these walls, on the right side, is carved the date of the first death. It is followed by the names of those who died in the war, in chronological order. These names continue on this wall appearing to recede into the earth at the wall's end. The names resume on the left wall as the wall emerges from the earth, continuing back to the origin where the date of the last death is carved at the bottom of this wall. Thus the war's beginning and end meet; the war is "complete," coming full circle, yet broken by the earth that bounds the angle's open side, and continued within the earth itself. As we turn to leave, we see these walls stretching into the distance, directing us to the Washington Monument, to the left, and the Lincoln Memorial, to the right, thus bringing the Vietnam Memorial into an historical context. We the living are brought to a concrete realization of these deaths.

Brought to a sharp awareness of such a loss, it is up to each individual to resolve or come to terms with this loss. For death, is in the end a personal and private matter, and the area contained with this memorial is a quiet place, meant for personal reflection and private reckoning. The black granite walls, each two hundred feet long, and ten feet below ground at their lowest point (gradually ascending toward ground level) effectively act as a sound barrier, yet are of such a height and length so as not to appear threatening or enclosing. The actual area is wide and shallow, allowing for a sense of privacy, and the sunlight from the memorial's southern exposure along with the grassy park surrounding and within its walls contribute to the serenity of the area. Thus this memorial is for those who have died, and for us to remember them.

The memorial's origin is located approximately at the center of the site: its legs each extending two hundred feet towards the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial. The walls, contained on one side by the earth, are ten feet below ground at their point of origin, gradually lessening in height, until they finally recede totally into the earth, at their ends. The walls are to be made of a hard, polished black granite, with the names to be carved in a simple Trajan letter. The memorial's construction involves recontouring the area within the wall's boundaries, so as to provide for an easily accessible descent, but as much of the site as possible should be left untouched. The area should remain as a park, for all to enjoy.

TEAM ACTIVITY: EFFECT OF THE VIETNAM VETERANS MEMORIAL

The Wall was created to honor all the American soldiers who served during the Vietnam War. The effect of the Memorial was difficult to anticipate. Because there was so much dissent about American involvement in Vietnam, many soldiers returning home did not receive heroes' welcomes. Many felt snubbed and let down by their country. The Vietnam Veterans Memorial, dedicated in 1982, has done much to heal those wounds and to honor and remember those American soldiers who lost their lives in the Vietnam War.

Divide your students into teams and have them help their classmates understand the effect the Memorial had in healing the wounds this country experienced during the Vietnam War.

Students can do this in many ways.

1. Maya Ying Lin designed The Wall. Direct your students to give a report to the class on how Maya Ying Lin's design was chosen for the Memorial. What can they tell the class about the reason(s) she gave for designing such a simple abstract memorial, rather than a more traditional war monument with figures of soldiers?

Or

2. Have students use the www.thevirtualwall.org website to determine if someone on The Wall was from their city. If they find someone on The Wall from their city, have them consult old yearbooks from their school library to determine whether that person went to their high school. If the students find a match, have them read about the person in the school yearbook.
   - What did they discover about this person?
   - What seems to be similar about this veteran and their high school friends?
   - What seems to be different about this veteran and their high school friends?

3. Have students design a memorial for Vietnam veterans. Tell them to imagine that it is 1980 and a call has gone out for designs for a memorial to honor soldiers who died during the Vietnam War. They should create a pencil sketch and a scale model of a memorial to enter in the competition. They should then write a statement explaining their design and the choices they made in creating it. Ask them to share their team's design with the class.

Or

4. Have students design a memorial for people who served in the U.S. Armed Forces during the Persian Gulf War. They should write a statement explaining their design and the choices they made in creating it. Ask them to share their team's design with the class.
5. Have students discuss why the Three Servicemen statue was added in 1984. They should also discuss why the Vietnam Women's Memorial was added in 1993.

THE LEGACY OF THE VIETNAM WAR

Lt.David C.Rehman is photographed during the parading of U.S.prisoners of war by the North Vietnamese.

The Statue of Liberty opens her arms to those fleeing political persecution and seeking a better life for their children. Many South Vietnamese fled Vietnam as the United States withdrew. This module contains activities to aid your students' understanding of the experience of the Vietnamese refugees.

In addition, this module and the VVMF Education Website contain materials to help students understand the economic effect of the war on Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

The concept of a limited war, or limited U.S. involvement in a war, was honed during the Vietnam War, prompting the phrase the "Vietnam Syndrome." The activities in this module provide an opportunity to apply the analogy of limited war to other conflicts in which the United States has been involved.

Other legacies of the Vietnam War include the lingering effects of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and Agent Orange. This module provides discussion questions for you to use to help students gain an understanding of these phenomena.

This module also discusses the plight of those classified as missing in action (MIA) in Vietnam and the steps the United States has taken to account for them.

Finally, this module issues a challenge and some suggestions for students to create legacies of peace and courage in their own communities.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

At the end of this lesson, students will be able to discuss the following points:

- The experience of the Vietnam War refugee, including the experience of the Vietnamese "boat people;"
- Compare the experience of the Vietnamese war refugee to that of other refugees of war and natural disasters;
- The economic effect of the Vietnam War on Asia;
- The meaning of the Vietnam Syndrome and its effect on the Persian Gulf War;
- The deadly legacies of the war: Agent Orange and land mines and their lingering effect on Vietnam and those who served there;
- The psychological legacy of PTSD;
- The plight of Amerasian children;
- The projects that have helped veterans to heal from the war by sending veterans back to Vietnam to deal with the war's deadly legacies, to clear mines, to build clinics, to work in hospitals and universities, and otherwise contribute to the country's rebuilding;
- The controversy that developed about personnel who were MIA during the Vietnam War; and
- Ways to contribute a legacy of peace to your community.

MATERIALS

All lessons will be greatly enhanced by the use of the VVMF Education Website, www.teachvietnam.org, where many of the materials listed in the activities and lessons may be found, as well as this guide's appendices that include background information, biographies, and a glossary. The accompanying VFW history guide provides statistical and chronological information from the Vietnam War. The ***Echoes From The Wall*** teachers' guide should be used in conjunction with a history textbook.

- The condensed version of ***Vietnam: A History***, by Stanley Karnow (module 6, appendix A)
- Article — ***Back to Vietnam: A Personal Peace Mission***, by Stephen Sossaman (module 6, appendix B)
- Travel article — ***Incountry***, by David Berman (module 6, appendix C)

ACTIVITY: THE EXPERIENCE OF THE VIETNAMESE REFUGEE

Immediately following the U.S. withdrawal of troops from Vietnam, many Vietnamese who had fought with or worked with the Americans sought refuge from political persecution in the United States. Since many people began their journey by boat, Vietnamese refugees were often referred to as "boat people." Not all boat people settled in the United States. Many were returned unwillingly to Vietnam; some died trying to escape, while others made their way to different countries. Refer students to the material by Stanley Karnow (module 6, appendix A) and lead a discussion about the plight of Vietnamese refugees.

ACTIVITY: COMPARING REFUGEE EXPERIENCES

Use the VVMF Education Website to read about the experiences of the Vietnamese boat people immigrating to the United States. Compare their experiences to the experiences of people in your community who immigrated to the U.S. to escape war and/or political persecution in Bosnia, Cuba, China, El Salvador, Kosovo, or Somalia, or to escape famine and pestilence in Ethiopia or Guatemala.

ACTIVITY: PROBING THE ANALOGY OF FIGHTING LIMITED WARS

Use the format developed by Richard Neustadt and Ernest R. May, found in module 1, to separately probe each of the following analogies:

- U.S. involvement in the Persian Gulf War was like/different from U.S. involvement in Vietnam.
- U.S. involvement in Bosnia was like/different from U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

ACTIVITY: THE VIETNAM SYNDROME

Read the description of the Vietnam Syndrome in the glossary. Use the following questions to stimulate discussion:

- What is meant by the Vietnam Syndrome?
- What effect, if any, do you think the Vietnam Syndrome had on our involvement in the Persian Gulf War?
- How, if at all, do you think the memory of U.S. involvement in Vietnam affected our actions in Iraq?
- How, if at all, do you think the memory of U.S. involvement in Vietnam affected our involvement in Bosnia or Kosovo?

ACTIVITY: THE ECONOMIC EFFECT OF THE WAR ON VIETNAM AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

Have students read the following publications:

- The excerpt from Stanley Karnow's book, ***Vietnam: A History*** (module 6, appendix A) on Vietnam's economy following the war.
- ***Vietnam Reconsidered***, by Ambassador Edward Marks.

Be sure to include the following points in your discussion:

- Although torn by war, the country has made economic gains.
- American tourism is now contributing to the growth of the Vietnamese economy as Vietnam veterans return to visit.
- The Vietnam War actually contributed to the economic strength of the region.
- While the United States was involved in Vietnam, it poured large sums of money into Southeast Asia's economy.
- The Vietnam War spurred economic growth in Southeast Asia.

American doctor listens to a Vietnamese woman's chest during a medical exam.

ACTIVITY: AN AMERICAN VETERAN RETURNS TO VIETNAM

Have students read the articles ***Back to Vietnam: A Personal Peace Mission***, by Stephen Sossaman, and ***Incountry***, by David M. Berman.

Encourage the students to reflect on the following questions in their learning logs and then lead a discussion in class:

- Do you think people can change from being enemies to being friends? If so, how?
- What lessons do you think Sossaman learned from his experience?
- How do you think you would feel if you returned as a tourist to a place where you were once a soldier?
- How do you think you would feel if you were a North Vietnamese soldier and your country was visited by former U.S. soldiers?

ACTIVITY: REGIONAL COOPERATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Background

Since the Vietnam War, Southeast Asia has created organizations that encourage regional cooperation. Members in these organizations reach decisions through consultation and consensus. The Association of South Eastern Asian Nations (ASEAN) was formed in 1967. At that time, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore were members. Following the aftermath of the Vietnam War, Brunei and Vietnam became members of ASEAN. Laos, Cambodia, and Myanmar are slated to become members.

More recent organizations promoting regional cooperation include:

- the Asian Pacific Economic Council, founded in 1989; and
- in 1994, ASEAN created the ASEAN Regional Forum, known as ARF, to engage external powers in discussions about regional security. ARF supported anti-Khmer Rouge resistance in Cambodia and sponsored a seminar on peacekeeping opportunities and challenges in 1995. ARF has been instrumental in supporting UN peacekeeping missions.

Have students locate the member nations of ASEAN on a map of Southeast Asia.

ACTIVITY: THE LEGACY OF PTSD

One legacy of the Vietnam War is PTSD. Have students visit www.teachvietnam.org and learn what the Veterans Administration does to treat PTSD.

ACTIVITY: THE LEGACY OF MIAS

Have students review the material and resources on MIAs. Have them create a mock documentary describing MIAs, the government efforts to account for them, and the concerns of groups of veterans and citizens who believe that some of the MIAs are still being held captive or were held captive and then executed after the war.

- How many Vietnam War MIAs were there? Who was responsible for determining this? How do these figures compare to statistics from the Korean War and World War II?
- What difficulties prevent complete accounting for all MIAs?
- Not all veterans feel the same way about the possible existence of MIAs still being held prisoner in Vietnam. Interview two veterans with differing opinions. Describe their differences and their beliefs. What resources did they rely on to make their decision? Do you think these materials are objective?
- Do you think there are any MIAs who may still be alive? Why or why not?

ACTIVITY: THE WAR'S DEADLY LEGACIES

Have students prepare a report that discusses the deadly legacies of the war — Agent Orange and land mines — and their lingering effects on both the citizens of Vietnam and the veterans who served there.

- Review readings about Agent Orange. How was it used in Vietnam? How did it affect the trees and foliage there? Describe its lingering effects on the land, the Vietnamese, and veterans who were exposed to it.
- Invite a veteran in your community to speak about how Agent Orange has affected some veterans.
- Review readings and resources about land mines and other explosive devices and their use by both sides in the war. How do these devices still affect Vietnam? What is being done to solve the problem? What other countries besides Vietnam are dealing with land mines as a legacy of war? Document any projects or movements to solve the lingering threat of land mines.
- Check with your local Red Cross to see if anyone is involved in work on the legacy of land mines. If so, invite the person to speak to your class.

Agent Orange being used as a defoliant to expose the Viet Cong hiding under the dense cover of the jungle.

Residents of Saigon seek refuge as they are driven from their homes during festive Tet period interrupted by Viet Cong attacks that forever marred a season traditionally celebrated by the Vietnamese people.

TEAM ACTIVITY: THE VIETNAMESE BOAT PEOPLE

Immediately following the U.S. withdrawal of troops from Vietnam, many Vietnamese who had fought with the Americans sought refuge from political persecution in the United States. Because many people began their journey from Vietnam by boat, Vietnamese refugees were often referred to as "boat people." Not all these boat people settled in the United States. Many were returned unwillingly to Vietnam; others made their way to different countries.

Have your students use the VVMF Education Website and other materials to create a documentary to present to the class showing what the refugee experience was like.

Or

TEAM ACTIVITY: LIVING HISTORY INTERVIEW

Have your students find someone in their community who came to the United States immediately following the Vietnam War. Direct the students to interview the person about his/her experience as a Vietnamese refugee. Have the students videotape the interview for inclusion on www.teachvietnam.org, and share it with their classmates.

Or

ACTIVITY: COMPARING IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCES

Invite to your class a panel of people from your community who immigrated to the United States from South Vietnam immediately following the U.S. withdrawal of troops from Vietnam. Other people to include in this panel could be people who immigrated to this country seeking a better life after famine in Somalia or Ethiopia, or because of civil war in Bosnia or El Salvador. Have them discuss their experiences with the class.

Or

Have your students interview people who have immigrated to the United States, and compare their experiences with those of the Vietnamese refugees.

ACTIVITY: THE IMPACT OF AGENT ORANGE

Many soldiers were exposed to the herbicides used to defoliate the Vietnam jungles. Upon their return to the United States, many veterans became ill with undiagnosed symptoms. These symptoms were referred to as "Agent Orange Syndrome." Have students interview a veteran exposed to Agent Orange, or invite a veteran to speak to your class.

ACTIVITY: A VIRTUAL VISIT TO VIETNAM

Have your students take the class on a virtual tour of Vietnam today that will show the legacies of the war. They may use their reading materials from the VVMF Education Website, as well as interviews with people from their community who have traveled to Vietnam in the last decade to prepare the text of their travelogue. Direct your students to print photos from the Internet or photocopy pictures from books to illustrate their virtual visit. The tour should inform the class about the attitudes and lives of the Vietnamese and describe the legacies of the war that exist in Vietnam today.

TEAM ACTIVITY: LEGACY OF PEACE AND COURAGE

President John F. Kennedy once said, "Without belittling the acts of courage with which men have died, we should not forget those acts of courage with which men have lived."

- Have students interview someone who has demonstrated courage in the way s/he is living his/her life.
- What situations exist in their community or school that require their personal courage and commitment to change? How might they go about changing these situations?

TEAM ACTIVITY: KEEPING THE PEACE AT YOUR SCHOOL BY STARTING A PEER MEDIATION PROGRAM

Peer mediation is a structured process that trains high school students to help their peers negotiate and settle conflicts. If a peer mediation program already exists in your school, have students volunteer as mediators. If no peer mediation program exists at your school, students can work with a sponsoring teacher to create one. In peer mediation, students each tell their version of a problem to a team of student mediators. The mediators help their peers to generate and select workable solutions to a specific conflict. Students sign a contract agreeing to honor the solutions they reach. You may find more information about peer mediation on the following websites:

- www.fred.net/hhhs/html/peermed.htm
- www.jalmc.org/peer/pm-links.htm
- www.peer.calpeer.html

Children being treated at the Hoa Khanh Children's Hospital, which provided medical care for thousands of refugees northwest of Da Nang.

APPENDICES

USING AND EVALUATING MATERIAL FROM ELECTRONIC DATABASES

This curriculum is supported with material from the VVMF Education Website. The following two databases offer guidelines in citing and evaluating material from electronic databases:

- ***MLA Guidelines: MLA-Style Citations of Electronic Sources,*** by Janice R. Walker, www.cas.usf.edu/english/walker/mla.html
- ***Kaye Turabian's Reference-List Style: Citing Electronic Information in History Papers,*** by Maurice Crouse, www.people.memphis.edu/~mcrouse/elcite.html

The following National Archives worksheets are available free of charge for your students to use. You may obtain them by visiting the following URLs:

- Written Document Analysis Worksheet
  www.nara.gov/education/teaching/analysis/write.html
- Photograph Analysis Worksheet
  www.nara.gov/education/teaching/analysis/photo.html
- Cartoon Analysis Worksheet
  www.nara.gov/education/teaching/analysis/cartoon.html
- Poster Analysis Worksheet
  www.nara.gov/education/teaching/analysis/poster.html
- Map Analysis Worksheet
  www.nara.gov/education/teaching/analysis/map.html Map
- Artifact Analysis Worksheet
  www.nara.gov/education/teaching/analysis/artifact.html
- Sound Recording Analysis Worksheet
  www.nara.gov/education/teaching/analysis/sound.html
- Motion Picture Analysis Worksheet
  www.nara.gov/education/teaching/analysis/movie.html

During December 10-11, 1967 members of Company A, 1st Battalion, 7th Calvary Division move across the flat open plains into the rice paddy area during a search and destroy mission.

APPENDIX FOR MODULE ONE

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS

- Excerpts from statements by Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

This lesson is intended to supplement the information found in most U.S. history textbooks. Students should use their books extensively while completing the lesson. Many textbooks begin discussion of U.S. involvement in Vietnam with the French pullout and the division of Vietnam in 1954. A brief look further back in the history of Vietnam may be useful. Vietnam is a long, narrow country on the eastern coast of Southeast Asia. Vietnamese civilization developed as early as 1000 BCE, but China took control of much of the country by the first century BCE. Vietnam became independent in AD 939. By the 1500s, missionaries and imperialists in France were interested in Vietnam. By 1857, France controlled some parts of the country and expanded control to include Cambodia and Laos by 1893. During World War II, Vietnam was controlled by Japan while France was controlled by Germany. After the war the French tried to reestablish control in Vietnam but met serious resistance. The U.S. financed much of the French effort in Southeast Asia, but the Vietnamese were victorious at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, and the French decided to withdraw from the region. At a conference in Geneva later that year, Vietnam was divided in two at the 17th parallel. North Vietnam was ruled by a Communist government, led by Ho Chi Minh. South Vietnam had a non-Communist government under Ngo Dinh Diem.

Some students will not be able to fully define Communism. Be sure the students comprehend the theory of Communism and what kinds of circumstances are likely to lead people toward supporting this ideology before starting the lesson.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE WAR POWERS ACT

During the aftermath of withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam and the Paris Peace Accords, Congress seized the opportunity on November 7, 1973 to enact the War Powers Act. This piece of legislation was created in response to the attitude shift that had taken place in Congress since the 1964 passage of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. Many members of Congress and the American public felt that the Executive Branch had waged a war with far more sweeping powers than the Constitution permitted. In some regards, the War Powers Act was the result of concerted action by members of both the House of Representatives and the Senate who had been generally opposed to the escalation of the war. The War Powers Act also was created in response to some members of Congress and the American public who believed both the Johnson and Nixon Administrations had lied on numerous occasions with regard to U.S. participation in Vietnam.

The War Powers Act essentially limits the power of the President in waging hostilities without Congressional approval. The War Powers Act mandates that the President notify Congress, if possible, before committing troops to action. Once American forces are committed to combat they can stay no more than sixty days unless Congress extends their mission.

While some historians have debated the merits of such legislation, the War Powers Act is principally viewed as a means to prevent the presidency from embroiling the U.S. in a war similar to the Vietnam experience.

MODULE 1: APPENDIX A — GULF OF TONKIN RESOLUTION

Gulf of Tonkin Resolution

Joint Resolution of Congress
H.J. RES 1145 August 7, 1964

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

That the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.

Section 2. The United States regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia. Consonant with the Constitution of the United States and the Charter of the United Nations and in accordance with its obligations under the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, the United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom.

Section 3. This resolution shall expire when the President shall determine that the peace and security of the area is reasonably assured by international conditions created by action of the United Nations or otherwise, except that it may be terminated earlier by concurrent resolution of the Congress.

MODULE 1: APPENDIX B — THE WAR POWERS ACT OF 1973

The War Powers Act of 1973

Public Law 93-148
93rd Congress, H. J. Res. 542
November 7, 1973
Joint Resolution

Concerning the war powers of Congress and the President.

Resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SHORT TITLE

SEC. 1. This joint resolution may be cited as the "War Powers Resolution."

PURPOSE AND POLICY

SEC. 2. (a) It is the purpose of this joint resolution to fulfill the intent of the framers of the Constitution of the United States and insure that the collective judgement of both the Congress and the President will apply to the introduction of United States Armed Forces into hostilities, or into situations where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances, and to the continued use of such forces in hostilities or in such situations.

SEC. 2. (b) Under article I, section 8, of the Constitution, it is specifically provided that the Congress shall have the power to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution, not only its own powers but also all other powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SEC. 2. (c) The constitutional powers of the President as Commander in Chief to introduce United States Armed Forces into hostilities, or into situations where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances, are exercised only pursuant to (1) a declaration of war, (2) specific statutory authorization, or (3) a national emergency created by attack upon the United States, its territories or possessions, or its armed forces.

CONSULTATION

SEC. 3. The President in every possible instance shall consult with Congress before introducing United States Armed Forces into hostilities or into situations where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances, and after every such introduction shall consult regularly with the Congress until United States Armed Forces are no longer engaged in hostilities or have been removed from such situations.

REPORTING

SEC. 4. (a) In the absence of a declaration of war, in any case in which United States Armed Forces are introduced —

(1) into hostilities or into situations where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances;

(2) into the territory, airspace or waters of a foreign nation, while equipped for combat, except for deployments which relate solely to supply, replacement, repair, or training of such forces; or

(3) (A) the circumstances necessitating the introduction of United States Armed Forces;

(B) the constitutional and legislative authority under which such introduction took place; and

(C) the estimated scope and duration of the hostilities or involvement.

SEC. 4. (b) The President shall provide such other information as the Congress may request in the fulfillment of its constitutional responsibilities with respect to committing the Nation to war and to the use of United States Armed Forces abroad.

SEC. 4. (c) Whenever United States Armed Forces are introduced into hostilities or into any situation described in subsection (a) of this section, the President shall, so long as such armed forces continue to be engaged in such hostilities or situation, report to the Congress periodically on the status of such hostilities or situation as well as on the scope and duration of such hostilities or situation, but in no event shall he report to the Congress less often than once every six months.

CONGRESSIONAL ACTION

SEC. 5. (a) Each report submitted pursuant to section 4(a)(1) shall be transmitted to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and to the President pro tempore of the Senate on the same calendar day. Each report so transmitted shall be referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate for appropriate action. If, when the report is transmitted, the Congress has adjourned sine die or has adjourned for any period in excess of three calendar days, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore of the Senate, if they deem it advisable (or if petitioned by at least 30 percent of the membership of their respective Houses) shall jointly request the President to convene Congress in order that it may consider the report and take appropriate action pursuant to this section.

SEC. 5. (b) Within sixty calendar days after a report is submitted or is required to be submitted pursuant to section 4(a)(1), whichever is earlier, the President shall terminate any use of Untied States Armed Forces with respect to which such report was submitted (or required to be submitted), unless the Congress (1) has declared war or has enacted a specific authorization for such use of United States Armed Forces, (2) has extended by law such sixty-day period, or (3) is physically unable to meet as a result of an armed attack upon the United States. Such sixty-day period shall be extended for not more than an additional thirty days if the President determines and certifies to the Congress in writing that unavoidable military necessity respecting the safety of United States Armed Forces requires the continued use of such armed forces in the course of bringing about a prompt removal of such forces.

SEC. 5. (c) Notwithstanding subsection (b), at any time that United States Armed Forces are engaged in hostilities outside the territory of the United States, its possessions and territories without a declaration of war or specific statutory authorization, such forces shall be removed by the President if the Congress so directs by concurrent resolution.

CONGRESSIONAL PRIORITY PROCEDURES FOR JOINT RESOLUTION OR BILL

SEC. 6. (a) Any joint resolution or bill introduced pursuant to section 5(b) at least thirty calendar days before the expiration of the sixty-day period specified in such section shall be referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, as the case may be, and such committee shall report one such joint resolution or bill, together with its commendations, not later than twenty-four calendar days before the expiration of the sixty-day period specified in such section, unless such House shall otherwise determine by the yeas and nays.

SEC. 6. (b) Any joint resolution or bill so reported shall become the pending business of the House in question (in the case of the Senate the time for debate shall be equally divided between the proponents and the opponents), and shall be voted on within three calendar days thereafter, unless such House shall otherwise determine by yeas and nays.

SEC. 6. (c) Such a joint resolution or bill passed by one House shall be referred to the committee of the other House named in subsection (a) and shall be reported out not later than fourteen calendar days before the expiration of the sixty-day period specified in section 5(b). The joint resolution or bill so reported shall become the pending business of the House in question and shall be voted on within three calendar days after it has been reported, unless such House shall otherwise determine by yeas and nays.

SEC 6. (d) In the case of any disagreement between the two Houses of Congress with respect to a joint resolution or bill passed by both Houses, conferees shall be promptly appointed and the committee of conference shall make and file a report with respect to such resolution or bill not later than four calendar days before the expiration of the sixty-day period specified in section 5(b). In the event the conferees are unable to agree within 48 hours, they shall report back to their respective Houses in disagreement. Notwithstanding any rule in either House concerning the printing of conference reports in the Record or concerning any delay in the consideration of such reports, such report shall be acted on by both Houses not later than the expiration of such sixty-day period.

CONGRESSIONAL PRIORITY PROCEDURES FOR CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

SEC. 7. (a) Any concurrent resolution introduced pursuant to section 5(b) at least thirty calendar days before the expiration of the sixty-day period specified in such section shall be referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, as the case may be, and one such concurrent resolution shall be reported out by such committee together with its recommendations within fifteen calendar days, unless such House shall otherwise determine by the yeas and nays.

SEC. 7. (b) Any concurrent resolution so reported shall become the pending business of the House in question (in the case of the Senate the time for debate shall be equally divided between the proponents and the opponents), and shall be voted on within three calendar days thereafter, unless such House shall otherwise determine by yeas and nays.

SEC. 7. (c) Such a concurrent resolution passed by one House shall be referred to the committee of the other House named in subsection (a) and shall be reported out by such committee together with its recommendations within fifteen calendar days and shall thereupon become the pending business of such House and shall be voted on within three calendar days after it has been reported, unless such House shall otherwise determine by yeas and nays.

SEC. 7. (d) In the case of any disagreement between the two Houses of Congress with respect to a concurrent resolution passed by both Houses, conferees shall be promptly appointed and the committee of conference shall make and file a report with respect to such concurrent resolution within six calendar days after the legislation is referred to the committee of conference. Notwithstanding any rule in either House concerning the printing of conference reports in the Record or concerning any delay in the consideration of such reports, such report shall be acted on by both Houses not later than six calendar days after the conference report is filed. In the event the conferees are unable to agree within 48 hours, they shall report back to their respective Houses in disagreement.

INTERPRETATION OF JOINT RESOLUTION

SEC. 8. (a) Authority to introduce United States Armed Forces into hostilities or into situations wherein involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances shall not be inferred —

(1) from any provision of law (whether or not in effect before the date of the enactment of this joint resolution), including any provision contained in any appropriation Act, unless such provision specifically authorizes the introduction of United States Armed Forces into hostilities or into such situations and stating that it is intended to constitute specific statutory authorization within the meaning of this joint resolution; or

(2) from any treaty heretofore or hereafter ratified unless such treaty is implemented by legislation specifically authorizing the introduction of United States Armed Forces into hostilities or into such situations and stating that it is intended to constitute specific statutory authorization within the meaning of this joint resolution.

SEC. 8. (b) Nothing in this joint resolution shall be construed to require any further specific statutory authorization to permit members of United States Armed Forces to participate jointly with members of the armed forces of one or more foreign countries in the headquarters operations of high-level military commands which were established prior to the date of enactment of this joint resolution and pursuant to the United Nations Charter or any treaty ratified by the United States prior to such date.

SEC 8. (c) For purposes of this joint resolution, the term "introduction of United States Armed Forces" includes the assignment of member of such armed forces to command, coordinate, participate in the movement of, or accompany the regular or irregular military forces of any foreign country or government when such military forces are engaged, or there exists an imminent threat that such forces will become engaged, in hostilities.

SEC. 8. (d) Nothing in this joint resolution —

(1) is intended to alter the constitutional authority of the Congress or of the President, or the provision of existing treaties; or

(2) shall be construed as granting any authority to the President with respect to the introduction of United States Armed Forces into hostilities or into situations wherein involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances which authority he would not have had in the absence of this joint resolution.

SEPARABILITY CLAUSE

SEC. 9. If any provision of this joint resolution or the application thereof to any person or circumstances held invalid, the remainder of the joint resolution and the application of such provision to any other person or circumstance shall not be affected thereby.

EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. 10. This joint resolution shall take effect on the date of its enactment.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, NOVEMBER 7, 1973

The Senate having proceeded to reconsider the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 542) entitled "Joint resolution concerning the war powers of Congress and the President", returned by the President of the United States with his objections to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, it was

Resolved, That the said joint resolution pass, two-thirds of the Senators present having voted in the affirmative.

Navy Lieutenant J.H.Thomas,(right) performs emergency surgery on a wounded ARVN soldier during a rocket attack on the Marine combat base of Khe Senh on January 22, 1968.The medical teams worked 36 hours continuously in aiding the wounded.The operating room was a tent; operating tables were stretchers.

APPENDIX FOR MODULE TWO

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS

- Photographs of anti-war demonstrations
- Printed lyrics and taped music for:
  - *Ballad of the Green Berets*
  - *Fortunate Son*
  - *Blowin' in the Wind*
  - *Fixin' to Die Rag*
- Statistics on conscientious objectors and draft evaders
- Photographs of Kent State
- United States history textbook chapter or section on 1968
- Selected passages from ***The Year The Dream Died: Revisiting 1968 in America***, by Jules Witcover, pp.16-21
- Assorted newspaper or periodical articles from 1968
- Book — ***The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage***, Todd Gitlin, Bantam Books, NY, 1989

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In many ways, 1968 was one of the most tragic years in U.S. history. The moral and social fiber of the U.S. was stretched almost to the breaking point — beginning with the Tet Offensive early in the year, followed by the assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and presidential hopeful Senator Robert Kennedy, the ensuing race riots in the wake of Dr. King's murder, the escalation of war protests on college campuses across the country, and the tumultuous Democratic National Convention in Chicago.

As the war in Vietnam escalated with the addition of ground troops, bringing the number of service personnel to over half a million, the U.S. public began to grow weary of a war that seemed to have no end in sight. As late as December 1967, President Lyndon Johnson, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara; and General William Westmoreland, the Commander of U.S. forces in Vietnam, assured the American people that there was a light at the end of the tunnel. All of that changed when the VC, supported by units of the North Vietnamese Army, launched a surprise offensive in January on the eve of the Vietnam New Year, Tet. The war, which until this time had been mostly waged in the rural countryside, now found itself inside the limits of every major South Vietnamese city. In Saigon, VC guerrillas daringly penetrated the grounds of the U.S. Embassy. The offensive, which the U.S. forces put down within two months and hailed as an American military victory, was really Pyrrhic in nature. Tet weakened U.S. public opinion to a point of no return. But another effect of the Tet Offensive was to change the viewpoint of the popular CBS-TV anchorman, Walter Cronkite, who until that point had been a supporter of the American effort in Southeast Asia. After Tet, Cronkite publicly questioned the value of waging a protracted war in Vietnam. Upon hearing this, President Johnson remarked, "If I've lost Cronkite, I've lost middle America." By the end of March, the President withdrew his name from consideration as a candidate for the Democratic Party's nomination to run for reelection.

It seemed as if the bad news during 1968 could get no worse, but as the year progressed Americans confronted new crises with every turn of the page on the calendar. On April 4, while attending a demonstration in Memphis, Tennessee, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the leader of the nonviolent organization within the civil rights movement, was fatally shot by a hidden assailant while standing on the balcony of his hotel. This action ignited a series of race riots that stretched all across the nation, including extensive rioting, burning, and looting in the nation's capital, Washington, D.C. Then on June 6, U.S. Senator Robert Kennedy, campaigning for the Democratic nomination for president, also was fatally shot by Sirhan Sirhan on the evening of his triumph in the California Democratic primary. Many felt that with his death also died a kind of hopeful optimism many Americans had felt would bring some sense and order to a world that seemed to be crumbling around them. In August, the Democratic National Convention in Chicago was a national nightmare as police, along with military troops brought in to maintain security, clashed with thousands of mostly young people protesting the Vietnam War. The same evening Vice President Hubert Humphrey was nominated as the presidential candidate of the Democratic Party. Television screens across the United States had a split image as coverage of Humphrey's acceptance speech was cut away to scenes around Chicago of police assaulting anti-war protesters. As the police used nightsticks and tear gas to control the protesters, the crowds began chanting, "The whole world is watching! The whole world is watching!" Even inside the convention center hostilities between factions within the Democratic Party could be seen as Chicago Mayor Richard Daley was televised shouting abusive remarks at one platform speaker, and national television correspondents such as Mike Wallace and Dan Rather were arrested or otherwise treated inappropriately by the Chicago police.

Each night the war that would not go away continued to be seen in gory detail by the public as people watched the evening news. The "living room war" had become a fixture in American culture.

By December 1968, Americans for one brief moment were allowed to collect their captive breath and gaze skyward in a kind of national communion as the crew of Apollo 8, the first manned spaceship to leave the bounds of the earth's atmosphere, orbited our nearest celestial body, the moon. As crew members Frank Borman, Jim Lovell, and Mike Anders read the opening passage of the book of Genesis on Christmas Eve, the entire world watched with utter amazement as, for the first time, our own small planet could be seen in its entirety from a distance far away. While it had been a tumultuous year fraught with anxiety, it ended on a note of hope.

MODULE 2: APPENDIX A — EXCERPTS, PORT HURON STATEMENT, 1962

Students for a Democratic Society:

> We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit.
>
> When we were kids the United States was the wealthiest and strongest country in the world; the only one with the atom bomb, the least scarred by modern war, an initiator of the United Nations that we thought would distribute Western influence throughout the world. Freedom and equality for each individual, government of, by and for the people — these American values we found good, principles by which we could live as men. Many of us began maturing in complacency.
>
> As we grew, however, our comfort was penetrated by events too troubling to dismiss. First, the permeating and victimizing fact of human degradation, symbolized by the Southern struggle against racial bigotry, compelled most of us from silence to activism. Second, the enclosing fact of the Cold War, symbolized by the presence of the Bomb, brought awareness that we ourselves, and our friends, and millions of abstract "others" we knew more directly because of our common peril, might die at any time. We might deliberately ignore, or avoid, or fail to feel all other human problems, but not these two, for these were too immediate and crushing in their impact, too challenging in the demand that we as individuals take the responsibility for encounter and resolution.
>
> While these and other problems either directly oppressed us or rankled our consciences and because of our own subjective concern, began to see complicated and disturbing paradoxes in our surrounding America. The declaration "all men are created equal" rang hollow before the facts of Negro life in the South and the big cities of the North. The proclaimed peaceful intentions of the United States contradicted its economic and military investments in the Cold War status quo.

We witnessed, and continue to witness, other paradoxes. With nuclear energy whole cities can easily be powered, yet the dominant nation-states seem more likely to unleash destruction greater than that incurred in all wars of human history. Although our own technology is destroying old and creating new forms of social organization, men still tolerate meaningless work and idleness. While two-thirds of mankind suffers undernourishment, our own upper classes revel amidst superfluous abundance. Although world population is expected to double in forty years, the nations still tolerate anarchy as a major principle of international conduct and controlled exploitation governs the sapping of the earth's physical resources. Although mankind desperately needs revolutionary leadership, America rests in national stalemate, its goals ambiguous and tradition-bound instead of informed and clear, its democratic system apathetic and manipulated rather than "of, by, and for the people."

Not only did tarnish appear on our image of American virtue and disillusion occur when the hypocrisy of American ideals became evident, but we also began to sense that what we had originally seen as the American Golden Age was actually the decline of an era. The worldwide outbreak of revolution against colonialism and imperialism, the entrenchment of totalitarian states, the menace of war, overpopulation, international disorder, supertechnology — these trends were testing the tenacity of our own commitment to democracy and freedom and our abilities to visualize their application to a world in upheaval.

Our work is guided by the sense that we may be the last generation in the experiment with living. But we are a minority — the vast majority of our people regard the temporary equilibriums of our society and world as eternally functional parts. In this is perhaps the outstanding paradox: we ourselves are imbued with urgency, yet the message of our society is that there is no viable alternative to the present. Beneath the reassuring tones of the politicians, beneath the common opinion that America will "muddle through," beneath the stagnation of those who have closed their minds to the future, is the pervading feeling that there simply are no alternatives, that our times have witnessed the exhaustion not only of Utopias, but of any new departure as well. Feeling the press of complexity upon the emptiness of life, people are fearful of the thought that at any moment things might be thrust out of control. They fear change itself, since change might smash what invisible framework seems to hold back chaos for them now. For most Americans, all crusades are suspect, threatening. The fact that each individual sees apathy in his fellows perpetuates the common reluctance to organize for change. The dominant institutions are complex enough to blunt the minds of their potential critics, and entrenched enough to swiftly dissipate or entirely repeal the energies of protest and reform, thus limiting human expectancies. Then, too, we are a materially improved society, and by our own improvements we seem to have weakened the case for further change.

Some would have us believe that Americans feel contentment amidst prosperity — but might it not better be called a glaze above deeply felt anxieties about their role in the new world? And if these anxieties produce a developed indifference to human affairs, do they not as well produce a yearning to believe there is an alternative to the present, that something can be done to change circumstances in the school, the workplaces, the bureaucracies, the government? It is to this latter yearning, at once the spark and engine of change, that we direct our present appeal. The search for truly democratic alternatives to the present, and a commitment to social experimentation with them, is a worthy and fulfilling human enterprise, one which moves us and, we hope, others today. On such a basis do we offer this document of our convictions and analysis; as an effort in understanding and changing the conditions of humanity in the late twentieth century, an effort rooted in the ancient, still unfulfilled conception of man attaining determining influence over his circumstances of life.

MODULE 2: APPENDIX B — COLUMN, *DEAR ABBY*

Taken from a *Dear Abby* column by Abigail Van Buren. Reprinted with permission of *Universal Press Syndicate*. All rights reserved.

DEAR ABBY: I must take exception to your response to Karen A. Tamura of Cerritos, Calif., concerning the Vietnam War. You said that National Guard units fired into a group of peaceful demonstrators at Kent State University, killing four and wounding nine.

Mobs are seldom "peaceful". These "students" confronting the National Guard at Kent State that day in 1970 constituted a mob. Their zeal for a cause led them astray. Four had to die before reason regained the upper hand. They were armed with bricks, rocks and clubs, and were scarcely in a mood to exercise discretion. It is ever so easy, after the fact, to declare what was should not have been.
ALLAN E. BOVEY, SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

DEAR ALLAN: Read on:

DEAR ABBY: For years I have fumed as I read the sob stories about the 'peaceful anti-war demonstrators' at Kent State. I know Vietnam wasn't a popular war — I hated it, too. It is too bad these demonstrators were killed — but peaceful? NO!

1. These "peaceful" demonstrators burned the ROTC building.
2. These "peaceful" demonstrators had been ordered to leave, but refused.
3. These National Guardsmen were about the same age as the "peaceful" demonstrators. They were there obeying orders. Wouldn't you feel your life was threatened if you were a member of a small group facing a large crowd who was pelting you with stones and other missiles? Small wonder someone panicked and fired.

Everyone has heard about the "peaceful" demonstrators who were injured or killed, but the public has never heard about the guardsman who phoned his young wife and cried as he told her what he had seen, and who today, at age 48, still has problems as a result of what happened that day, and the subsequent questioning and harassment these innocent young men were subjected to because of the Kent State riots!

No, I wasn't there — but my 22-year-old brother was an Ohio National Guardsman protecting his country, his state and the taxpayers' lives and property.
HAD IT WITH KENT STATE IN OHIO

DEAR ABBY: Perhaps being attacked with bricks, bottles, etc., is a peaceful demonstration to you, but those 18-year-old guardsmen were scared into retaliation. Where, oh where, has the truth gone?
PHYLLIS GOLLESLIN, MELBOURNE, FLA.

DEAR ABBY: The governor of Ohio did not send for the state National Guard because of 'peaceful anti-war demonstrators' at Kent State in May 1970. Mobs of raging students were roaming the campus — pillaging and burning everything in sight (including whole buildings). Local authorities were terrified and helpless. Blame the issuance of live ammunition to a group of frightened soldiers, completely inexperienced in mob control, who were being shouted at, spit on, or hit by bricks and rocks. These guardsmen were no older than the students.

Abby, please read current accounts (unbiased) before wrongfully reporting this terrible tragedy.
DAVID PAIGE, PUYALLUP, WASH.

DEAR DAVID AND DEAR READERS: My source for the explanation of the Vietnam War and reference to Kent State came from the ***World Book Encyclopedia.*** I felt that this was an unbiased account, and it was in no way intended to mislead or inflame. Referring to it as a "peaceful" demonstration was my mistake. I now know the truth.

MODULE 2: APPENDIX C — LYRICS, *WHERE HAVE ALL THE FLOWERS GONE?* BY PETE SEEGER

Where Have All the Flowers Gone?
By Pete Seeger, Copyright 1961 (renewed) by SANGA Music, Inc. All rights reserved. Used by permission.

Where have all the flowers gone, long time passing?
Where have all the flowers gone, long time ago.
Where have all the flowers gone?
The girls have picked them ev'ry one.
Oh, When will you ever learn?
Oh, When will you ever learn?

Where have all the young girls gone, long time passing?
Where have all the young girls gone, long time ago.
Where have all the young girls gone?
They've taken husbands ev'ry one.
Oh, When will you ever learn?
Oh, When will you ever learn?

Where have all the young men gone, long time passing?
Where have all the young men gone, long time ago.
Where have all the young men gone?
They're all in uniform ev'ry one.
Oh, When will you ever learn?
Oh, When will you ever learn?

Where have all the soldiers gone, long time passing?
Where have all the soldiers gone, long time ago.
Where have all the soldiers gone?
They've gone to the graveyard ev'ry one.
Oh, When will you ever learn?
Oh, When will you ever learn?

Where have all the soldiers gone, long time passing?
Where have all the soldiers gone, long time ago.
Where have all the soldiers gone?
They're covered with flowers ev'ry one.
Oh, When will you ever learn?
Oh, When will you ever learn?

Where have all the flowers gone, long time passing?
Where have all the flowers gone, long time ago.
Where have all the flowers gone?
The girls have picked them ev'ry one.
Oh, When will you ever learn?
Oh, When will you ever learn?

Anti-war protester placing flowers in rifles of troops at the Pentagon.
©Bernie Boston, 1967

MODULE 2: APPENDIX D — LYRICS, *OHIO* BY NEIL YOUNG

Ohio

By Neil Young, Copyright 1970 (renewed) Cotillion Music, Inc. and Broken Arrow Music. All rights reserved. Used by permission. Warner Bros. Publications U.S. Inc., Miami, FL 33014.

Tin soldiers and Nixon's coming
We're finally on our own
This summer I hear the drumming
Four dead in Ohio

Gotta get down to it
Soldiers are gunning us down
Should've been done long ago
What if you knew her and
Found her dead on the ground
How can you run when you know

Tin soldiers and Nixon's coming
We're finally on our own
This summer I hear the drumming
Four dead in Ohio

Tin soldiers and Nixon's coming
We're finally on our own
This summer I hear the drumming
Four dead in Ohio (fade out)

MODULE 2: APPENDIX E — EXCERPTS, *HELL NO WE WON'T GO!* BY SHERRY GERSHON GOTTLIEB

The following has been excerpted from ***Hell No We Won't Go!: Resisting the Draft During the Vietnam War,*** by Sherry Gershon Gottlieb.

This first essay was written by a successful entrepreneur who evaded the draft during the Vietnam War.

> I grew up in an upper-middle-class Jewish neighborhood in West Los Angeles. I was politically active from the age of fourteen in various civil rights issues. I led a rather soft life, so when I was seventeen or eighteen — in the midst of antiwar activity — I actually thought of going into the Army because it would be "challenging" and "fun." But I wouldn't want to support the war. I guess it was a longing for discipline. However, I was unalterably opposed to Vietnam from 1965 on. Both of my parents were politically aware and active — envelope lickers, fund-raisers, voters. We did talk about Vietnam. They never opposed me or anything I did.
>
> Rather than be one of the mass of liberal students at UCLA, I chose to go to USC, the heart of the beast; I figured if I could change the people at USC, I'd have a better shot at changing the world. I wanted to be a Democratic congressman.
>
> My draft number was 115. I was ultimately given a 4-F, not because I was truly a 4-F but because I had assistance from my father and other doctors with phony medical records. I had some symptoms of asthma, but not enough to have kept me out. They doctored medical records; they'd been in practice many years and had files that had aged looks, and they used many pens, and back-dated remarks in the charts that would be consistent with what a truly asthmatic patient would have in early years. I have no idea how long it took them to do it. I never asked;

> it wasn't volunteered — it was just done. It was a whole medical history, so if it had been subpoenaed, it would have been there. I never had a physical. I went directly from 2-S to 4-F.
>
> I was willing to fight [being drafted]. I never joined the resistance at USC, because I didn't want my name to be listed, but it didn't stop me from any antiwar activities. I tore up my draft card while I was 2-S during a flamboyant demonstration, but I kept it; I didn't tape it back together.
>
> I'm glad I didn't go, not just because I might have been hurt, both emotionally and physically, but [because] I believe that it was a terrible war, and a bad choice to get involved. It was a disaster of monumental proportions.
>
> I assisted others in evading the draft, with my father's assistance. He decided to put his life on the line by doing for two or three others what he did for me. My father is a medical doctor who participated in various peace marches, frequently bringing his nurses and medical supplies as required by peace officials, so if there were any problems at marches or demonstrations or speeches, he and his staff were there. He gave money — I saw him drop fifty dollars into a can in defense of the Chicago Seven. My father's style is very quiet, unassuming; he put his ass, his family, his license on the line.
>
> Paul Herzon

The following is from his father, a pediatrician who assisted in his son's draft evasion:

> I was against the Vietnamese War. I felt our government was not telling the truth; I felt that they were getting us involved in a problem that would only lead to disaster; and it just didn't make sense.
>
> When my sons came of draft age, I didn't exactly lie, but I exaggerated their medical problems considerably — sufficiently to have them declared 4-Fs. I took care of my kids ever since they were born. I also [fabricated medical histories] for two or three others.
>
> I never discussed it with anybody else, so I have no way of knowing whether other doctors did it. I did it and I have no regrets; I didn't feel guilty about it then, and I do not feel guilty about it now. Yet I am a very, very law-abiding citizen: I don't cheat, I don't fib on my income tax. But I felt that our government was a cheater, without question. I'm a retired medical officer from the United States Navy. I'm a very honorable man, and I made up some very honorable fake histories.
>
> Stanley Herzon

Muhammad Ali refused induction on April 28, 1967. On that day, he was stripped of the title of World Heavyweight Champion and was barred from fighting in the United States. He was sentenced to five years in prison. Free on bond, he appealed to the United States Supreme Court, which reversed his conviction in 1971.

> "Who is this descendant of the slave masters to order a descendant of slaves to fight other people in their own country?"
>
> Why am I resisting? My religion, of course, but what a politician told me in Chicago is true: I won't be barred from the Nation of Islam if I go into the Army. "Who are you to judge?" he had asked. All my life I've watched White America do the judging. But who is to judge now? Who is to say if this step I'm about to be asked to take is right or wrong? If not me, who else? I recall the words of the Messenger: "If you feel what you have decided to do is right, then be a man and stand up for it....Declare the truth and die for it."

The lieutenant has finished with the man on my left and everybody seems to brace himself. The room is still and the lieutenant looks at me intently. He knows that his general, his mayor, and everybody in the Houston induction center is waiting for this moment. He draws himself up straight and tall.

Something is happening to me. It's as if my blood is changing. I feel fear draining from my body and a rush of anger taking its place.

I hear the politician again: "Who are you to judge?" But who is this white man, no older than me, appointed by another white man, all the way down from the white man in the White House? Who is he to tell me to go to Asia, Africa, or anywhere else in the world, to fight people who never threw a rock at me or America? Who is this descendant of the slave masters to order a descendant of slaves to fight other people in their own country?

Now I am anxious for him to call me. "Hurry up!" I say to myself. I'm looking straight into his eyes. There's a ripple of movement as some of the people in the room edge closer in anticipation.

"Cassius Clay — Army!"

The room is silent I stand straight, unmoving. Out of the corner of my eye I see one of the white boys nodding his head to me, and thin smiles flickering across the faces of some of the blacks. It's as if they are secretly happy to see someone stand up against the power that is ordering them away from their homes and families.

The lieutenant stares at me a long while, then lowers his eyes. One of the recruits snickers and looks up abruptly, his face beet-red, and orders all the other draftees out of the room. They shuffle out quickly, leaving me standing alone.

He calls out again: "Cassius Clay! Will you please step forward and be inducted into the Armed Forces of the United States?"

All is still. He looks around helplessly. Finally, a senior officer with a notebook full of papers walks to the podium and confers with him a few seconds before coming over, to me. He appears to be in his late forties. His hair is streaked with gray and he has a very dignified manner.

"Er, Mr. Clay..." he begins. Then, catching himself, "Or Mr. Ali, as you prefer to be called."

"Yes, sir?"

"Would you please follow me to my office? I would like to speak privately with you for a few minutes, if you don't mind."

It's more of an order than a request, but his voice is soft and he speaks politely. I follow him to a pale-green room with pictures of Army generals on the walls. He motions me to a chair, but I prefer to stand. He pulls some papers from his notebook and suddenly drops his politeness, getting straight to the point.

"Perhaps you don't realize the gravity of the act you've just committed. Or maybe you do. But it is my duty to point out to you that if this should be your final decision, you will face criminal charges and your penalty could be five years in prison and ten thousand dollars fine. It's the same for you as it would be for any other offender in a similar case. I don't know what influenced you to act this way, but I am authorized to give you an opportunity to reconsider your position. Regulations require us to give you a second chance."

"Thank you, sir, but I don't need it."

"It is required."

I follow him back into the room. The lieutenant is still standing behind the rostrum, ready to read the induction statement.

"Mr. Cassius Clay," he begins again "you will please step forward and be inducted into the United States Army." Again I don't move.

"Cassius Clay — Army," he repeats. He stands in silence, as though he expects me to make a last minute change. Finally, with hands shaking, he gives me a form to fill out. "Would you please sign this statement and give your reasons for refusing induction?" His voice is trembling.

I sign quickly and walk out into the hallway. The officer who originally ordered me to the room comes over. "Mr. Clay," he says with a tone of respect that surprises me. "I'll escort you downstairs."

I keep walking with the officer who leads me to a room where my lawyers are waiting. "You are free to go now," he tells us. "You will be contacted later by the United States Attorney's office."

I step outside and a huge crowd of press people rush towards me, pushing and shoving each other and snapping away at me with their cameras. Writers from two French newspapers and one from London throw me a barrage of questions, but I feel too full to say anything. My lawyer, Hayden Covington, gives them copies of a statement I wrote for them before I left Chicago. In it, I cite my ministry and my personal convictions for refusing to take the step, adding that "I strongly object to the fact that so many newspapers have given the American public and the world the impression that I have only two alternatives in taking this stand — either I go to jail or I go into the Army. There is another alternative, and that is justice."

By the time I get to the bottom of the front steps, the news breaks. Everyone is shouting and cheering. Some girls from Texas Southern run over to me, crying, "We're glad you didn't go!" A black boy shouts out, "You don't go, so I won't go!"

I feel a sense of relief and freedom. For the first time in weeks, I start to relax. I remember the words of a reporter at the hotel: "How will you act?" Now it's over, and I've come through it. I feel better than when I beat the eight-to-ten odds and won the World Heavyweight title from Liston.

"You headin' for jail. You headin' straight for jail." I turn and an old white woman is standing behind me, waving a miniature American flag. "You goin' straight to jail. You ain't no champ no more. You ain't never gonna be champ no more. You get down on your knees and beg forgiveness from God!" she shouts in a raspy tone. I start to answer her, but Covington pulls me inside a cab. She comes over to my window. "My son's in Vietnam, you no better'n he is. He's there fightin' and you here safe. I hope you rot in jail. I hope they throw away the key."

The judge who later hears my case reflects the same sentiment. I receive a maximum sentence of five years in prison and ten thousand dollars fine. The prosecuting attorney argues, "Judge, we cannot let his man get loose, because if he gets by, all black people will want to be Muslims and get out for the same reasons."

Four years later, the Supreme Court unanimously reverses that decision, 8-0, but know this is the biggest victory of my life. I've won something that's worth whatever price I have to pay. It gives me a good feeling to look at the crowd as we pull off. Seeing people smiling makes me feel that

> I've spoken for them as well as myself. Deep down, they didn't want the World Heavyweight Champion to give in, and in the days ahead their strength and spirit will keep me going. Even when it looks like I'll go to jail and never fight again.
>
> "They can take away the television cameras, the bright lights, the money, and ban you from the ring," an old man tells me when I get back to Chicago, "but they can't destroy your victory. You have taken a stand for the world and now you are the people's champion."
>
> Muhammad Ali

MODULE 2: APPENDIX F — EXCERPTS, *THE STRENGTH NOT TO FIGHT* BY JAMES W. TOLLEFSON

The following was excerpted from ***The Strength Not To Fight: An Oral History of Conscientious Objectors of the Vietnam War***, by James W. Tollefson.

> The total number of individuals receiving deferments from the draft as conscientious objectors during the Vietnam War was approximately 170,000. As many as 300,000 other applicants were denied CO deferments. Nearly 600,000 illegally evaded the draft; about 200,000 were formally accused of draft offenses. Many of these lawbreakers were men who had been denied CO deferments or who refused to cooperate with the draft on grounds of conscience. Between 30,000 and 50,000 fled to Canada. Another 20,000 fled to other countries or lived underground in America.
>
> *The Strength Not To Fight*, pg. 6.

Below is a letter written by an 18-year-old to his draft board during the Vietnam War.

> In January 1970 I turned eighteen. Instead of registering for the draft as I was supposed to do, I wrote a letter to my draft board. This is what it said:
>
>> Today, I am eighteen years old. On this day, I am required by the law of this country to register with the Selective Service System. But my obedience to a higher law compels me to refuse to do so. This has not been an easily or hastily arrived at position. It comes as the result of much thought and introspection. I realize that in doing what I am doing, I am breaking the law, but I am ready to accept whatever consequences my action may bring upon me. I have watched with growing horror the actions my country has taken in Vietnam. Under the guise of defending freedom, we have destroyed a country and its people. However, my stand is even more than this. It comes from a deep personal belief that all war is wrong. The people of the world are my brothers and I cannot participate in or support the killing of my brothers. My purpose in living must be to affirm life, not to be an instrument in destroying it. As a member of a so-called "Peace Church," I could easily apply for and receive a classification as a conscientious objector. But this would be, in effect, an acceptance of the system of conscription and the militarism for which it exists, and would be a way of effectively silencing my conscience. To accept a classification from the Selective Service would be to recognize the legitimacy of the System, a legitimacy that does not exist. The action I am taking shows my own refusal to participate in war, but even more, my belief that no man should be forced into war. So, today, instead of bowing to a god of war and destruction, I am affirming a God of peace and love. By saying "no" to death, I am saying "yes" to life.
>
> *The Strength Not To Fight*, pgs. 43-44.

APPENDIX FOR MODULE THREE

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS

- Book — *A Piece of My Heart,* by Keith Walker
- HBO special — *Dear America: Letters Home From Vietnam*
- United States War Department (1863) General Order 100 — *The Rules of Land Warfare*
- Code of Conduct for Members of the Armed Forces of the United States (1954)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

To best understand the experiences of the men and women who served in the Vietnam War, we encourage you to invite veterans of that war to come into your classroom and to speak with you and your students. For historical and statistical information on those who served in Vietnam, please consult the accompanying VFW history guide.

MODULE 3: APPENDIX A — INVITING VIETNAM VETERANS TO SHARE THEIR ORAL HISTORIES WITH YOUR STUDENTS

The following suggestions are based on over a decade's experience by scores of teachers using Vietnam veterans trained by and speaking for the Veterans Education Project in Amherst, Massachusetts. The information here should make your use of veteran guest speakers a powerful tool to teach and intrigue students. A guide for veterans is available at the VVMF Education Website, www.teachvietnam.org. You can download and print this to give to speakers, or direct veterans with Internet access to the website. Workshops for teachers and for veterans on using oral history methods are available.

Why guest speakers?

The most obvious value of bringing a guest speaker into your classroom is that s/he is an eyewitness to history. Many students who are bored by "history" are moved by having a speaker who "was there." Everyone agrees that a veteran's experience was greatly affected by when s/he served during the war, doing what job, in what branch of the service, and in what part of Southeast Asia. No one is an expert on all aspects of the war. But they are experts on their own experiences. You will be able to explain the difference as part of the critical thinking component of using guest speakers. The second strength of having guest speakers is the intimacy and vitality that a veteran brings to the classroom. Films and television can be very dazzling. Unlike television characters, however, guest speakers are interactive with students. There is a sense of each performance being unique, just as in live theatre. The third reason is that many students take their classroom activities much more seriously once they have met and perhaps bonded with a veteran speaker. This might explain why a number of teachers report enthusiastic student work on follow-up projects. The fourth reason to bring in guest speakers is to strengthen the students' recognition that there are community adults who care enough to share important stories with young people. Guest speakers, like parent-teacher organizations and booster clubs, can strengthen the school-community bond. The most important reason is that storytelling is probably the most powerful tool ever devised for educating young people. Traditional society relies upon storytelling by one generation to educate the next. Obviously, nonveteran speakers are valuable, too. Consider inviting as speakers people who were part of the peace movement and may have worked with veterans who experienced family tension resulting from arguing about the war, or veterans who lost family or friends. Ordinary people can be effective witnesses to history in any of three ways: (1) some have valuable stories because they took part in a significant event, such as the 1968 Tet Offensive; (2) others had a revealing contact with a historic personage, such as General Westmoreland; and (3) many can discuss personal experiences, such as getting a draft notice, losing a close friend, or watching a peace march.

Veterans have proven to be wonderful resources in literature classes, as well, bringing to life such works as ***The Red Badge of Courage*** and ***The Things They Carried.*** One rural high school in Massachusetts has a veteran in around Veterans Day to do name rubbings with students at the adjacent cemetery, which includes Civil War veterans — and ancestors of some students. Those students have a better understanding of why The Wall is so meaningful.

Storytelling teaches as it entertains

There are five major reasons why storytelling works so well. Everyone loves a story. It is that simple. From The Little Engine That Could to the latest Hollywood spectacular, a story is at the heart of nearly everything to which we turn for pleasure, discovery, and insight. Wrestling is one of the most popular cable television programming; those shows' producers attribute fan loyalty not to the action but to the creation of vivid characters in continuing stories. Stories convey meanings without preaching. The Roman poet Horace said that the purpose of literature is to delight and instruct. We are often so absorbed in the story that we do not consciously perceive the lesson. Storytelling humanizes knowledge and can add emotions to social sciences, humanities, and even to the sciences. Students previously uninterested in historical data and dates can better understand them by hearing about experiences from someone who was there. Without films such as ***Schindler's List*** and ***Saving Private Ryan,*** how well would we understand the 50 million deaths of World War II? Storytelling adds color to historical data and dates. Social studies teachers cannot ignore this information, of course, but guest speakers can help make those larger facts comprehensible. Map study and geography are enriched in a similar fashion when a veteran describes where s/he served and what the region was like. Most of us see our lives as episodic narratives and ourselves as the central characters. Because the listener instinctively imagines himself/herself as the protagonist when a veteran tells a story in class, we have learned to train veterans to pause at the critical moment in their stories to ask the two most fruitful questions possible: (1) how would you have felt, and (2) what would you have done? These questions can trigger amazing classroom discussions that lead students into thoughtful and introspective looks at character and values, and they can demonstrate the human side of the war experience.

Integrating oral histories into your curriculum

Veterans' stories are among the most effective "primary documents" available for your classroom. Not every veteran can address every topic, of course, because no veteran has experienced the entire war. Most veterans did not engage in combat but all have important stories to tell that can enrich your teaching about the war. Only a few veterans defended Khe Sanh or flew over Laos, for example; but nearly all Vietnam veterans can address larger questions, such as the pain of losing a comrade, the power of The Wall, attitudes towards the peace movement, race relations in the military, and how young people reacted to the draft. While relatively few Vietnam veterans suffer from PTSD, most can help students understand this painful phenomenon. You might not care much about where or when your speakers served. Many teachers are less interested in the details than they are in the energy that veterans bring and their ability to answer students' most pressing questions about large topics.

Finding the right speaker

A speakers' bureau or veterans' organization can help you find a veteran with the experience to talk about the specific issues you want covered. Some teachers prefer soliciting veteran speakers while others choose speakers from among their students' parents and grandparents. This enhances the school-community bond. Other teachers call local chapters of national veterans organizations, such as the Veterans of Foreign Wars or the Vietnam Veterans of America. You can find the addresses for many of these organizations at the end of this guide. A few teachers read newspapers to find speakers; news stories about veterans speaking to civic groups or at Memorial Day events are good leads. Larger school systems, or small ones truly committed to this aspect of school-community partnerships, can start their own speakers' bureau or encourage a local church or civic organization to do so. These speakers' bureaus can include not just veterans but others, such as people with personal stories about the Great Depression, the immigrant experience, political volunteering, environmental work, and so forth. Perhaps your school has a staff member or a community volunteer who coordinates guest speakers or who would gladly take the time to do so if you ask.

Screening volunteers

Before having someone speak in your class, do some preliminary screening. This is especially important when someone volunteers his/her services without having been trained or sponsored by an organization you know. You will want to know something about the veteran's background, starting with some particulars of when and where s/he served. This information will help your class prepare for the visit and will help you discover how the veteran might best support your classroom goals. Most veterans are happy to select stories from their experience according to your classroom objectives. The Vietnam War is still controversial and painful, and it will probably always be a confusing era of our history. Feelings remain strong. A few veterans may look at a classroom experience as an opportunity to share some intensely felt but rather far-fetched theories. This might generate as much discussion in school committee meetings as in the classroom. Without censoring what speakers have to say, you will want to discover, if possible, whether your volunteer is driven to propound a peculiar agenda. We advise teachers to ask potential speakers what they plan to talk about, not to censor but to prepare, especially by ensuring that students hear opposing views so that they can best exercise their critical thinking skills. If you are worried that a volunteer speaker is politically too far to the right or left, you can pair him/her with another veteran. The presence of a second veteran might temper the remarks of the first and helps in comparison-contrast discussions after the class. The following section on questions and answers offers suggestions to help you see that the presentation does not digress too much. Perhaps some of the students' readings will provide balance. Sometimes individuals may falsely claim to be Vietnam veterans. You are unlikely to encounter any such individuals; but to protect your students and to avoid embarrassment, it should be your school's policy to ask for a photocopy of the veteran's DD-214, the form everyone is given upon discharge, or to have assurances from the sponsoring organization that a DD-214 is on file. Few teachers encounter any problems. Most Vietnam veterans are sincerely interested in helping young people understand the war through their own thoughtful and independent study of disparate sources.

Discuss the class with the speaker

Talk with the veteran to identify your classroom objectives and to explain what your class already knows about the war. This conversation will help you learn about your speaker's background (e.g., branch, time, and location of service; what they usually talk about in classrooms; what they can contribute toward your particular objectives). Explain how much time s/he will have. Either ask how much time the veteran plans to save for the question and answer period, or tell how much time you would like for discussions. Beginning speakers tend to leave too little time for discussions. A 45-minute class should have about 25 minutes for students to address their own interests through questions and discussion. While the speaker should provide his/her background and story as a starting point, the liveliest part of the class is often the question and answer period. Reassure your speaker that you will keep the class rolling. You can easily do this by preparing your own questions ahead of time, asking follow-up questions based on what the veteran says, and identifying the controversies or disagreements that have most engaged the students' imaginations. If your speaker has not gone through a training workshop, provide him/her with a copy of the speakers' guidelines (on www.teachvietnam.org). This should answer most beginners' questions and help assure an effective presentation. Discuss with or send to the speaker a copy of your classroom or school policy about speakers. If you have no written policy, consider creating or asking the appropriate committee to create one. If your school is making special efforts to teach tolerance, respect, alternatives to violence, or other aspects of citizenship, let the veteran know. Most veterans are both eager and able to relate their experiences in ways that support school efforts at building personal responsibility and good citizenship.

Handling resistance by administrators

If your principal is wary of your having a guest speaker on a sensitive topic, your strongest response is showing how you have prepared the class for critical analysis and familiarized your speaker with your classroom policy. Point out that the speaker is only one element of the materials your class will consider. Mention your careful question and answer plans. Be ready to invite a second speaker in to offer a different point of view. Using trained veterans or veterans recommended by other teachers alleviates many principals' unease. We have known reluctant principals who have become enthusiastic supporters of our veteran speakers after observing one presentation. In a few schools, an administrator or teacher who is a veteran sometimes sits in on classes with guest speakers, usually enriching the presentation and reminding students that some of their teachers have lived the history that the schools teach.

Encouraging critical thinking

Before your class hears the speaker, discuss strategies for objectively evaluating speakers. Without making the students skeptical, remind them of various tests of validity in the social sciences. In our workshops for teachers, we emphasize teaching such rhetorical matters as use of evidence, stereotyping, respect for opposing opinions, admitted uncertainty, sweeping generalities, black and white thinking, institutional restraint, and the distinctions between statements of fact and statements of opinion.We also talk about the limitations of anecdotal evidence. We suggest that students recall a speaker's background to differentiate between conclusions likely to be based on personal experience and conclusions based on what a particular veteran has heard or read. A Navy pilot's conclusions about life on an aircraft carrier are likely to be more accurate than his speculations about Vietnamese village life.

Preparing your class for a presentation

Tell your class the veteran's name, and on a classroom map show your students where the veteran served. Ask your students what they want to know about. Some teachers have classes brainstorm the most important questions simply to have them thinking. Other teachers write down the most important questions on cards to hand to the veteran or to distribute to the class. Both methods help you to focus on questions relevant to your objectives and to discourage questions that are trivial. Experienced speakers know how to handle trivial questions. You also should explain that many veterans have painful memories, especially about friends who were killed. Fortunately, most veteran speakers are prepared for emotionally difficult questions, and most classes are very respectful. We recommend that all teachers discuss decorum. Some veterans who are telling emotionally painful stories might feel disrespected if some students are doing homework, whispering, or laughing. Say it more than once: every veteran has unique experiences and his/her own ideas. No one can speak for all veterans. No one has the whole truth. Your students should not think that anyone's appearance in class constitutes school endorsement. Trained veteran speakers will say this to the class.

Conducting the class

Arrange for a student to meet the speaker at your school office. If you have not already talked with the speaker about your classroom goals, do this briefly before the class begins. Tell the speaker how far along the class is in its study of the war and mention any particular issues they have considered. This reminder can help focus the speaker on the major issues. Remind him/her of when to expect the bell. When the class begins, introduce your speaker, and let the class know whether they should hold questions until the end. Be ready to ask a question yourself to redirect the presentation if it begins to digress or your speaker has not yet mastered short answers. Remember that some veterans will find it difficult to give brief answers to some controversial topics, like the POW/MIA issue, veterans' benefits, Robert McNamara, and why the war was lost. When the class is over, some students may want to ask a more private question or shake the speaker's hand. Ask a student to help the speaker find the next classroom or the way out of the building.

Debriefing the class

After the guest appearance, have your students discuss what they heard. Most teachers focus on the speaker's main point, something surprising, what was on the student's mind right after class, personal responses, or lingering questions. Some teachers ask for written responses. The class discussion usually segues from the story told by the veteran to the larger issues of the war and to comparisons with the readings and other materials used in the class.

Teachers can ask students to speculate on how the speaker's Vietnam background or particular story led the speaker to his/her beliefs. Advanced classes can be asked to read between the lines to speculate on the speaker's core beliefs. Who do you think s/he voted for in 1972 — Nixon or McGovern? If a speaker mentioned or used racially derogatory terms, you might explain how in every war combatants try to dehumanize the enemy as a defense mechanism to make killing palatable. Ask your class to send a thank-you card or individual thank-you letters. Veterans usually find these very moving and encouraging. Even brief handwritten thank-you notes are a rewarding reminder of why speaking in the schools is worth the time and effort.

Designing follow-up activities and assignments

Classroom storytelling has inspired many terrific follow-up activities, building on piqued curiosity and the emotional power of first-person narrative. Some teachers assign oral history interviews, research into newspaper and historical accounts of events the veterans describe, or writing comparison-contrast studies involving the oral history and a written account. Some teachers ask students to write short stories using the veteran as the central character. Role playing is a time-consuming but powerful way to involve students. Even in one class period, some of our veterans do brief role-play activities to illustrate their stories; for example, by asking the class to imagine themselves in a Vietnamese village or an American platoon on patrol. Role playing as a follow-up activity can involve political issues (e.g., a debate on a Vietnam policy question) or one of the personal choice issues your students debated (e.g., responding to the draft).

Turn controversies into teaching occasions

You cannot teach the history of the war without encountering controversies. To begin to understand the war and its effect on American society, foreign policy, and politics, students must understand that some of these controversies are still deeply felt and probably irreconcilable. Your speaker might say something that upsets some of your students or their parents, perhaps because their remarks were not accurately reported. You will need to reemphasize that everyone speaks from his/her own experiences. Larger pronouncements that make general statements out of isolated incidents can be made the subject of formal debate or research.

Use controversies to motivate students to research alternative opinions. Arrange a class debate or assign point-counterpoint essays. Teachers are continually inventing and refining effective classroom activities.

You can learn from other teachers and share your own successes by networking through the VVMF Education Website, www.teachvietnam.org.

Finding guest speakers

Listed below are some major veterans organizations' national headquarters addresses. Some of these organizations have local chapters near you. Other veterans groups can be found at www.vietvet.org/vetorgs.htm

Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund
1012 Fourteenth Street, NW, Suite 900
Washington, DC 20005
telephone: (202) 393-0090 fax: (202) 393-0029
email: vvmf@vvmf.org
www.vvmf.org

Association of the U.S. Army
2425 Wilson Boulevard
Arlington, VA 22201
telephone: (703) 841-4300 fax: (703) 525-9039
email: ausa-info@ausa.org
www.ausa.org

Gold Star Wives of America, Inc.
5510 Columbia Pike, Suite 205
Arlington, VA 22204
telephone: (703) 998-0064 fax: (703) 998-5913
email: gswives2@aol.com
www.zebra.net/~gsw

Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States
406 West 34th Street,
Kansas City, MO 64111
telephone: (816) 756-3390 fax: (816) 968-1178
email: info@vfw.org or bunch@vfw.org
www.vfw.org

Vietnam Veterans Against the War
P.O. Box 408594
Chicago, IL 60640
telephone (773) 327-5756
email: jtmiller@uiuc.edu
www.prairienet.org/vvaw/

Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation
2001 S Street, NW
Washington, DC 20009
telephone: (202) 483-9222 fax: (202) 483-9312
www.vvaf.org

Vietnam Veterans of America, Inc.
1224 M Street, NW
Washington, DC 20005-5183
telephone: (202) 628-2700 fax: (202) 628-5880
email: communications@vva.org
www.vva.org

Vietnam Women's Memorial Project
2001 S Street, N.W., Suite 302
Washington, DC 20009
telephone: (202) 328-7253 fax: (202) 986-3636
email: vwmpdc@aol.com

Women in Military Service
Department 560
Washington, DC 20042
telephone: (703) 533-1155 fax: (703) 931-4208
email: wimsa@aol.com
www.womensmemorial.org

The following organizations can help you locate speakers who were involved in the peace movement.

The American Friends Service Committee
1501 Cherry Street,
Philadelphia, PA 19102
telephone: (215) 241-7000 fax: (215) 567-2096
email: afscinfo@afsc.org
www.afsc.org

Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors
1515 Cherry Street,
Philadelphia, PA 19102
telephone: (215) 563-8787
email:ccco@libertynet.org
www.libertynet.org/ccco/home

MODULE 3: APPENDIX B — WOMEN IN THE VIETNAM WAR

American women served in the U.S. Armed Forces during the Vietnam War. Eight names of women who gave their lives are inscribed on the The Wall in Washington, D.C. Other women served in the Red Cross and government agencies in the war zone as well. Other women were leaders in the anti-war movement. We suggest that you invite a woman who served in Vietnam to your classroom to offer her unique perspective on the war.

In 1993 General Colin Powell gave a speech paying tribute to the women in the military during the groundbreaking at the Vietnam Women's Memorial in Washington, D.C. Below are excerpts from his speech.

> In fighting for this day you've all performed a tremendous service, not just for the women who served with you during the Vietnam years, but for all Americans. And I congratulate you for this achievement.
>
> When this monument is finished, it will be for all time a testament to a group of American women who made an extraordinary sacrifice at an extraordinary time in our nation's history: the women who went to war in Vietnam.
>
> Over 265,000 women served in uniform during that time, and this monument of course honors all of them. But it honors most especially the 11,500 who actually served in-country and many of you here today were among that group of 11,500.
>
> You went. You served. You suffered. The names of eight of your sisters are etched on The Wall for having made the supreme sacrifice.
>
> And yet your service and your sacrifice have been mostly invisible for all these intervening years.
>
> When you finished what you had to do, you came quietly home. You stepped back into the background from which you had modestly come.
>
> You melted away into a society that, for too long now, has ignored the vital and endless work that falls to women and is not appreciated as it should be.
>
> I knew you there in Vietnam. I knew you as clerks. I knew you as map makers. I knew you as intelligence specialists. I knew you as photographers and air traffic controllers and Red Cross and USO and other kinds of volunteers.
>
> And above all I knew you as nurses when you cared for those who were wounded and when you cared also, as one of them, for me.

MODULE 3: APPENDIX C — AFRICAN AMERICANS IN THE VIETNAM WAR

The decade of the 1960s was one of great turbulence in American society. A major issue was civil rights. African Americans were fighting for equality of opportunity. American society had a history of discrimination and the shameful legacy of slavery. Some African American soldiers had great misgivings about fighting for freedom of the Vietnamese while the important struggle for equality was ongoing in the United States. Prominent leaders, including Martin Luther King, Jr., eventually denounced the Vietnam War.

While there was racial strife in the military and in the war zone, the military is an institution with an overall history of more fairness and integration than society at large. For example, in the Korean War, there were no longer separate fighting units for black soldiers, even when there were segregated schools and even segregated restrooms in the United States.

In Vietnam, African Americans served bravely as pilots, infantrymen, and in all other aspects of the military. In the Army, General Frederick Davison became the first African American to be the commanding general of a combat unit — the 199th Infantry Brigade. Another African American saw duty there and later became Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff — General Colin Powell. Many blacks and whites became close friends through the suffering and hardship of combat. Many soldiers gave up their negative racial attitudes in Vietnam.

In his book, ***Bloods***, Wallace Terry wrote about the conflict felt by many African Americans who served in Vietnam. There are African American Vietnam veterans in your community; among them are lawyers, teachers, physicians, and other professionals who can serve as important role models for young people. We encourage you to seek out these individuals, and invite them to your classroom.

The following material was excerpted from ***Bloods***, by Wallace Terry (Random House, Inc.: 1999).

> The Pentagon was praising the gallant, hard-fighting black soldier, who was dying at a greater rate, proportionately, than American soldiers of other races. In the early years of the fighting, blacks made up to 23 percent of the fatalities. In Vietnam, Uncle Sam was an equal opportunity employer. That, too, made Vietnam a compelling story.
>
> ***Bloods***, p. xiv
>
> Later that year I returned to Vietnam for a two-year assignment that ended when I witnessed the withdrawal of the first American forces in 1969. Black combat fatalities dropped to 14 percent, still proportionately higher than the 11 percent which blacks represented in the American population. But by that same year, a new black soldier had appeared. The war had used up the professionals who found in military service fuller and fairer employment opportunities than blacks could find in civilian society, and who found in uniform a supreme test of their black manhood. Replacing the careerists were black draftees, many just steps removed from marching in the Civil Rights Movement or rioting in the rebellions that swept the urban ghettos from Harlem to Watts. All were filled with a new sense of black pride and purpose. They spoke loudest against the discrimination they encountered on the battlefield in decorations, promotion and duty assignments. They chose not to overlook the racial insults, cross-burnings and Confederate flags of their white comrades. They called for unity among black brothers on the battlefield to protest these indignities and provide mutual support. And they called themselves "Bloods."
>
> ***Bloods***, p. xiv
>
> There weren't many opportunities for blacks in private industry then. And as a graduate of West Point, I was an officer and a gentleman by act of Congress. Where else could a black go and get that label just like that?
>
> Throughout the Cav, the black representation in the enlisted ranks was heavier than the population as a whole in the United Sates. One third of my platoon and two of my squad leaders were black. For many black men, the service, even during a war, was the best of a number of alternatives to staying home and working in the fields or gumming around the streets of Chicago or New York
>
> ***Bloods***, p. 221

MODULE 3: APPENDIX D — HISPANIC AMERICANS IN THE VIETNAM WAR

Hispanic Americans continue to serve with distinction in the U.S. military. When the Vietnam War became a national crisis many served, as did their fathers, in World War II and in Korea. Some were recent immigrants. Thousands of Hispanic names are on the The Wall in Washington, D.C. We encourage you to make a special effort to seek out Hispanic Americans who served in Vietnam, and invite them to your classroom.

America's highest award for gallantry is the Congressional Medal of Honor. This medal is only awarded to those in the U.S. military who serve "above and beyond the call of duty." One of these men was Jose Francisco Jimenez. Born in Mexico City, he joined the U.S. Marines. In 1968 enemy soldiers hidden in camouflaged positions ambushed his unit. Jose charged into the enemy positions destroying several fortified posts. He next single-handedly silenced an enemy anti-aircraft weapon. Other Marines rallied after seeing his courageous assault. After destroying an enemy machine gun emplacement, he succumbed to wounds from rifle fire. His courage was above and beyond the call of duty and earned him the Medal of Honor.

The bravery of Hispanic Americans on the battlefields of Vietnam could be an intriguing research project for your students, particularly recent immigrants. A similar project could be done on the Native Americans who served in Vietnam and in other wars, such as World War II where Navajo Indians served as "code talkers" to confuse enemy soldiers listening to U.S. radio transmissions.

MODULE 3: APPENDIX E — TABLES, *WORKING-CLASS WAR* BY CHRISTIAN G. APPY

The following tables were taken from ***Working-Class War: American Combat Soldiers and Vietnam*** by Christian G. Appy. Copyright © 1993 by the University of North Carolina Press. Used by permission of the publisher.

TABLES

Table 1. Occupations of Fathers of Enlisted Men, by Service, 1964 (percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	ARMY	NAVY	AIR FORCE	MARINES
White-collar	17.0	19.8	20.9	20.4
Blue-collar	52.8	54.5	52.0	57.2
Farmer	14.8	10.7	13.3	9.1
Military	1.8	2.1	1.8	2.0
Father absent	13.6	12.9	12.0	11.3
(Aprox. N)	(28,000)	(17,500)	(28,000)	(5,000)

Source: 1964 National Opinion Research Center (NORC) survey, in Moskos', ***American Enlisted Man***, p.195.

Table 2. Educational Attainment of Vietnam Veterans at Time of Separation from the Armed Forces, 1966-1971 (percent)

FISCAL YEAR	LESS THAN 12 YEARS OF SCHOOL	12 YEARS OF SCHOOL	1 TO 3 YEARS OF COLLEGE	4 OR MORE YEARS OF COLLEGE
1966	22.9	62.5	8.3	6.3
1967	23.6	61.8	9.0	5.6
1968	19.6	65.5	9.7	6.2
1969	18.3	60.0	15.9	5.8
1970	17.5	56.9	17.0	8.6
1971	14.7	55.4	19.4	10.5
Total, 1966-71	19.4	60.3	13.2	7.2

Source: Reports and Statistics Service, Office of Controller, Veterans' Administration, 11 April 1972, in Helmer, *Bringing the War Home*, p. 303

Table 3. Percentage of Males Enrolled in School, 1965-1970 (percent)

AGE	BLUE-COLLAR	WHITE-COLLAR
16-17	80	92
18-19	49	73
20-24	20	43

Source: Levison, *Working-Class Majority*, p. 121

Table 4. Percentage of Draft-Motivated Enlistments

YEAR	ENLISTEES	OFFICERS	RESERVISTS
1964	38	41	71
1968	54	60	80

Source: U.S. House Committee on Armed Services, 1966, 100038; 1970, 12638. Cited in Useem, *Conscription, Protest and Social Conflict*, p. 78.

Table 5. American Draftees Killed in the Vietnam War

YEAR	TOTAL AMERICANS DEATHS, ALL SERVICES	DRAFTEES (PERCENT) ALL SERVICES	ARMY
1965	1,369	16	28
1966	5,008	21	34
1967	9,378	34	57
1968	14,592	34	58
1969	9,414	40	62
1970	4,221	43	57

Source: Columns 1 and 2 from U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1971, 253; column 3 from U.S. House Committee on Armed Services, 1971, 172. Cited in Useem, *Conscription, Protest, and Social Conflict*, p. 107.

Table 6. Entry Motivations of Enlisted Volunteers

MOST IMPORTANT REASON*	1964	1968
Draft-motivated	37.6	47.2
Personal	28.8	20.1
Self-advancement	22.3	20.1
Patriotism	11.2	6.1
None of the above	—	6.6

Sources: The 1964 figures are from a NORC survey and can be found in Albert D. Klassen, Jr., Military Service in ***American Life*** (Chicago: National Opinion Research Center, 1966). the 1968 figures are from a Department of Defense survey and can be found in Helmer, ***Bringing the War Home***, p. 34.

• These categories are composites of several choices: to increase options in choice of service or time of entry (Draft-motivated); to become more mature and self-reliant; for travel, excitement, and new experiences; to leave some personal problems behind me (Personal); to learn a trade; opportunity for advanced education, professional training; career opportunities (Self-advancement); to serve my country (Patriotism).

MODULE 3: APPENDIX F — EXCERPTS, *DEAR AMERICA* EDITED BY BERNARD EDELMAN

The following sections are taken from ***Dear America: Letters Home From Vietnam***, edited by Bernard Edelman for the New York Vietnam Veterans Memorial Commission, published by W.W. Norton and Company, 1985.

Sp/4 William J Kalwas from Rochester, New York, went to Vietnam in June 1970. He was assigned to the Army Engineer Command at Long Binh. Shipped home in January 1971 to a military hospital in Phoenixville, Pennsylvania, he committed suicide two months later, while on his first leave from the hospital.

12 Sept 70

Dear Dad, Bob, & Jean,

I received your letter of September 7 on the 12th, a Sunday. It really seems funny that the summer is already over in the World. Seems like only yesterday that I was going down to the lake and freezing, waiting for it to warm up so I could go skiing. Damn this Army anyhow.

I can just picture looking back on this time period in a few years and suddenly jumping to a tropical environment, blanking out my familiar life patterns for 18 months. Before I get off on an anti-Army kick, I'll end this train of thought, because in my mood right now I could get really violent on paper. And after all I'm over here because the gooks "want" us here. I'm really serving an important purpose over here, allowing the lifers to sock away beaucoup money at my expense and that's about it. Vietnam wants to be free. Look, they even have elections. What a fine democratic country. Maybe they'll remember us after we've pulled out...at least until we stop giving them everything they want.

Well, I didn't suppress all my feelings, because after a while it becomes impossible and they just have to spill out. I don't expect you to swallow everything because you haven't been over here to see the people in action: hooch mates ripping off GIs clothes and other belongings; ARVN troops refusing to take used serviceable equipment yet demanding new pieces(and getting them); government officials charging the American command for using the land and its resources; local nationals hired to work in the offices running around all day doing nothing and getting paid for it. This is why people get disgusted with Vietnam.

The Vietnamese don't want us over here. All they want is our money. Many of us who see all this can't do anything about it because those higher up are too intent on hauling in more money than they could amass anywhere else in the world for doing as little as they do. After a while all I see just catches up with me and I begin to realize the futility of it all. I really don't want any part of it, so I participate as little as possible in all things Army. I just try to enjoy living with the GIs I'm here with and learn what I can from them. Eventually my tour will be over, and I'll be able to come back to the U.S....

One thing I'll applaud is the sincerity and openness of the American enlisted GIs around me. Something in Vietnam releases all the restraints in our people, and you can talk and act freely without fear of retribution. Don't get me wrong, I'd never dream of staying here. But this similarity of situations among most of the GIs is really a unique, moving experience. I will miss this part of Nam. But that's about it...

Peace & Love,
Bill

Sp/5 Thomas Pellaton worked in intelligence while serving with the 101st Aviation Group, 101st Airborne Division, stationed at Phu Bai, from June 1970 to May 1971. He is maitre d' at the Carlyle Hotel in New York City.

28 July 70

Dear John,

It was very good to hear from you. You cannot imagine how important it is to receive mail over here. I have a lot of time to write, and most of my friends have been very faithful in writing. It takes some of the edge off the frustration and bitterness of being here. Especially after a week like last week!

You may have read about Fire Support Base Ripcord, southwest of Hue. The 101st, true to its reputation had another defeat like Hamburger Hill and Khe Sanh. You will get the whitewashed version of what happened, I'm sure. But let me tell you, we were driven off that hill after overwhelming casualties. We lost over 80 men in KIAs in less than two weeks and over 420 wounded. A full battalion of men. And for what? There is absolutely nothing out there in the jungle but mountains and a triple canopy. Nothing but NVA who have built roads and who outnumber us in the province by two or three to one.

Yes, it is no longer a case of the big imperialistic American Aggressor killing the pure VC patriots. Instead, we are fighting highly trained, well equipped NVA regiments and divisions. The South Vietnamese are doing very well militarily here. The 1st ARVN Division does as well as, if not better than, the 101st Airborne Division. The popular and regional forces keep the VC pretty much under control, but the fact remains that we are very much outnumbered and our best weapons cannot be used for political reasons. Napalm is almost out of the picture.

You may be surprised at my seemingly changed position. Talking of napalm, etc. When you see people, Americans, dying for lack of protection, for phony Vietnamization (it's not working because there just are not enough ARVN troops — they lose about a regiment a month in AWOLs and desertion) and for lack of good leadership (the infantry units were needlessly pinned down by the NVA at Ripcord because they stayed in a one-night defensive position for five or six nights in a row, which is never done. The whole thing is to move around and not let the NVA know where you are. Instead, they sat and took mortar rounds every night, with their 74 KIAs every day!) My position has not really changed. There is no reason to be here — and there is even less reason to see Americans dying here. Many of the rear echelon troops (higher ranking officers and enlisted men) seem to be immune to their death. It still makes me limp with rage — overcome with sorrow! There seem to be so many people that are insensitive to this killing, even many of the political left who call the American GI "animal," etc. But the fact remains that both sides are suffering a catastrophic loss! I don't know if I've expressed myself very well, but perhaps you can sense my frustrations...

There are so few things here that can keep you sane. Everything seems out of whack. People won't watch ***Oliver*** or ***A Lion in Winter***. They're faggot movies. They only want to see violent Westerns — even when they are surrounded by a violence more real! To maintain some sense of humanity, I've been out on Med Caps — the medical service taken out to remote villages. I went along as security and got to help treat some of the children. We played games with them, went for a walk to the beach, took pictures, in general just loved them up. They stole my watch, but it really didn't matter, because just before leaving I sang for them (the "Largo a! Factotum" from the ***Barber of Seville*** — you know, "Figaro, Figaro," etc.) They loved it, laughed. But what was most gratifying, they started singing part of it back to each other. I was overwhelmed! They called me "Bee-tho-ven." It was a truly uplifting experience. I became somewhat concerned when the helicopter became lost and it was getting dark, since the area we were in was a VC Rest and Recreation center at one time and still an area of VC infiltration. But we got out safely.

Well, just now I got word that the camp just north of here (12 WIA, 1 KIA) will get it tonight.

Sleep well-

My best to all-

Tom

2Lt. Robert C.("Mike") Ransom, Jr. raised in Bronxville, New York, arrived in Vietnam in March 1968. He was a platoon commander with Company A, 4th Battalion, 3rd Infantry, 11th Light Infantry Brigade, Americal Division, operating out of Chu Lai. He died after two months in country, eight days after he was wounded by shrapnel from a mine. He was 23 years old.

27 March 1968

Dear Mom and Dad,

Would you believe I am officially assigned to a unit? It's taken so long that it's quite a relief. I have a new address that should be permanent. It is:

Company A, 4th Battalion, 3rd Infantry
11th Light Infantry Brigade, APO San Francisco 96217

I don't know if you've sent me any mail yet, but if so it hasn't gotten to me and I doubt that it ever will. But with this address everything should reach me, so no sweat...

I am told that our AO is quite a good one. There is almost no contact with Charlie, and what little there is rarely turns into much of a fight because he runs away. The principal danger here is from mines and booby traps.

From the people I've talked to I've come up with some new ideas on the war. For the most part nobody is particularly wild with patriotic feeling. There are, of course, those who just get a real charge out of killing people. One lieutenant I talked to said what a kick it had been to roll a gook 100 yards down the beach with his machine gun. But most people generate their enthusiasm for two reasons: one is self-preservation — if I don't shoot him, he'll shoot me — and the other is revenge. It's apparently quite something to see a good friend blown apart by a VC booby trap, and you want to retaliate in kind.

While I am able to read Stars and Stripes and listen to AFVN radio newscasts, I still feel very cut off from the world outside of Vietnam. I would love it dearly if you should subscribe to Newsweek for me. Also, what do you think of Bobby Kennedy for president? What about General William Westmoreland's new job? What does everything mean?

I now have one last editorial comment about the war and then I'll sign off. I am extremely impressed by almost every report I've heard about the enemy I am about to go and fight. He is a master of guerrilla warfare and is holding his own rather nicely with what should be the strongest military power in the world. But it is mostly his perseverance that amazes me. He works so hard and has been doing so for so long. You've heard of his tunneling capability? A captured VC said that in coming from North Vietnam down to Saigon, he walked over 200 miles completely underground. Anyone who would dig a 200-mile tunnel and who would still do it after being at war for some 30 years must be right!

All love,
Mike

MODULE 3: APPENDIX G — EXCERPTS, *ORDINARY AMERICANS* EDITED BY LINDA MONK

The following is reprinted, with permission from the publisher, from ***Ordinary Americans: U.S. History Through the Eyes of Everyday People***, edited by Linda R. Monk. Copyright 1994. Close Up Foundation, Alexandria, Virginia.

"A Pure Love of My Country Has Called Upon Me"
Reflections on the Union Cause
By Major Sullivan Ballou

Initially, Northerners believed they were fighting to preserve the Union, the system of government for which their ancestors had fought the Revolutionary War. Major Sullivan Ballou of Rhode Island was stationed in Washington, D.C., in mid-July of 1861. Sensing that battle was impending, Ballou set forth his reasons for defending the Union in a love letter to his wife.

The first major battle of the Civil War was fought at Bull Run Creek, near the town of Manassas, Virginia, on July 21, 1861. Sure of a Union victory, citizens of the federal capital — only twenty-five miles away — brought picnic lunches to observe the fighting. But by late afternoon, Union forces had been totally defeated. Major Ballou was killed in the battle.

My very dear Sarah:

The indications are strong that we shall move in a few days — perhaps tomorrow. Lest I should not be able to write again. I feel impelled to write a few lines that may fall under your eye when I shall be no more...

I have no misgivings about, or lack of confidence in the cause in which I am engaged, and my courage does no halt or falter. I know how strongly American civilization now leans on the triumph of the government, and how great a debt we owe to those who went before us through the blood and sufferings of the Revolution. And I am willing — perfectly willing — to lay down all my joys in this life, to help maintain this government, and to pay that debt...

I cannot describe to you my feelings on this calm summer Sabbath night, when two thousand men are sleeping around me, many of them enjoying perhaps the last sleep before that of death, while I am suspicious that death is creeping around me with his fatal dart, as I sit communing with God, my country, and thee. I have sought most closely and diligently and often in my heart for a wrong motive in thus hazarding the happiness of those I love, and I could find none. A pure love of my country and of the principles I have so often advocated before the people — another name of Honor that I love more than I fear death — has called upon me and I have obeyed.

Sarah, my love for you is deathless. It seems to bind me with mighty cables that nothing but omnipotence could break; and yet my love of country comes over me like a strong wind and bears me unresistibly on with all these chains to the battlefield.

The memories of the blissful moments I have spent with you come creeping over me, and I feel most gratified to God and to you that I have enjoyed them so long. And hard it is for me to give them up and burn to ashes the hopes of future years, when, God willing, we might still have lived and loved together, and seen our sons grown up to honorable manhood around us. I have, I know, but few and small claims upon Divine providence, but something whispers to me — perhaps it is the wafted prayer of my little Edgar — that I shall return to my loved ones unharmed. If I do not, my dear Sarah, never forget how much I love you, and when my last breath escapes me on the battlefield, it will whisper your name. Forgive my many faults and the many pains I have caused you. How thoughtless and foolish I have often-times been! How gladly would I wash out with my tears every little spot upon your happiness, and struggle with all the misfortunes of this world to shield you and your children from harm. But I cannot. I must watch you from the spirit-land and hover near you, with your precious little freight, and wait with sad patience, till we meet to part no more.

But, O Sarah! If the dead can come back to this earth and flit unseen around those they loved, I shall always be near you; in the gladdest days and in the darkest nights, advised to your happiest scenes and gloomiest hours, always, always. And if there be a soft breeze upon your cheek, it shall be my breath; as cool air fans your throbbing temple, it shall be my spirit passing by. Sarah, do not mourn me dead; think I am gone and wait for thee, for we shall meet again...

"Men Mutilated in Every Imaginable Way"

Nursing the Wounds from Shiloh

By Kate Cumming

In the western theater of the war, Union commander Ulysses S. Grant sought to establish control of the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. He won major victories in February 1862 at Fort Henry and Fort Donelson in Tennessee. But Confederate forces from Corinth, Mississippi, crossed into Tennessee and on April 6 surprised Union troops at a small Methodist church named Shiloh. The Confederate attack was repelled after two days of battle, but Grant's victory was costly and he was criticized for being unprepared.

Shiloh was the first battle with massive casualties — about 25,000. In that single battle, more Americans died that in all previous U.S. wars combined. Kate Cumming served as a nurse in Corinth, where the Confederate wounded at Shiloh eventually arrived.

> April 11, 1862....My heart beat high with expectation as we neared Corinth. As I had never been where there was a large army and had never seen a wounded man, except in the [railroad] cars as they passed, I could not help feeling a little nervous at the prospect of now seeing both....
>
> ...Mrs. Ogden tried to prepare me for the scenes which I should witness upon entering the wards. But alas! Nothing that I had ever heard or read had given me the faintest idea of the horrors witnessed here. ...Gray-haired men, men in the pride of manhood, beardless boys, Federals and all, mutilated in every imaginable way, lying on the floor just as they were taken from the battlefield; so close together that it was almost impossible to walk without stepping on them. I could not command my feeling enough to speak, but thoughts crowded upon me. Oh, if the authors of this cruel and unnatural war could but see what I saw there, they would try and put a stop to it! To think, that it is man who is working all this woe upon his fellow man. What can be in the minds of our enemies, who are now arrayed against us who have never harmed them in any way, but simply claim our own and nothing more! May God forgive them, for surely they know not what they do.
>
> This was no time for recrimination: there was work to do, so I went at it to do what I could. If I were to live a hundred years, I should never forget the poor sufferers' gratitude for every little thing done for them. A little water to drink or the bathing of their wounds seemed to afford them the greatest relief...
>
> April 18....Dr. Smith has taken charge of this hospital. I think that there will be a different order of things now. He is having the house and yard well cleaned. Before this, it was common to have amputated limbs thrown into the yard and left there....
>
> April 23. A young man whom I have been attending is going to have his arm cut off. Poor fellow! I am doing all I can to cheer him. He says that he knows that he will die, as all who have had limbs amputated in this hospital have died. It is said that the reason is that none but the very worst cases are left here, and they are too far gone to survive the shock which the operation gives the frame. The doctors seem to think that the enemy poisoned their musket balls, as the wounds inflame terribly. Our men do not seem to stand half so much as the Northerners. Many of the doctors are quite despondent about it and think that our men will not be able to endure the hardships

of camp life and that we may have to succumb on account of it, but I trust that they are mistaken. None of the prisoners have died; this is a fact that can not be denied, but we have had very few of them in comparison with the number of our own men.

April 24. Mr. Isaac Fuqut, the young man who had his arm cut off, died today. He lived only a few hours after his amputation....

The amputating table for this ward is at the end of the hall, near the landing of the stairs. When an operation is to be performed, I keep as far away from it as possible. Today, just as they had go through with Mr. Fuquet, I was compelled to pass the place, and the sight I there beheld made me shudder and sick at heart. A stream of blood ran from the table into a tub in which was the arm.. It had been taken off at the socket, and the hand, which but a short time before grasped the musket and battled for the right, was hanging over the edge of the tub, a lifeless thing....

"Our Country, Right or Wrong"
Defending the Vietnam War
By Joseph E. Sintoni

Americans were deeply divided over U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. In a letter written as he was about to leave for Vietnam, where he later died, Joseph E. Sintoni justified the war to his fiancée.

Dear Angela,

This is by far the most difficult letter I shall ever write. What makes it so difficult is that you'll be reading it in the unhappy event of my death. You've already learned of my death; I hope the news was broken to you gently. God, Angie, I didn't want to die. I had so much to live for. You were my main reason for living. You're a jewel, a treasure....

Please don't hate the war because it has taken me. I'm glad and proud that America has found me equal to the task of defending it.

Vietnam isn't a far-off country in a remote corner of the world. It is Sagamore, Brooklyn, Honolulu, or any other part of the world where there are Americans.

Vietnam is a test of the American spirit. I hope I have helped in a little way to pass the test.

The press, the television screen, the magazines are filled with the images of young men burning their draft cards to demonstrate their courage. Their rejection is of the ancient law that a male fights to protect his own people and his own land.

Does it take courage to flaunt the authorities and burn a draft card? Ask the men at Dak To, Con Tien, or Hill 875; they'll tell you how much courage it takes.

Most people never think of their freedom... They never think much about breathing either, or blood circulating, except when these functions are checked by a doctor. Freedom, like breathing and circulating blood, is part of our being. Why must people take their freedom for granted? Why can't they support the men who are trying to protect their lifeblood, freedom?

Patriotism is more than fighting or dying for one's country. It is participating in its development, its progress, and its governmental processes. It is sharing the never fully paid price of the freedom which was bequeathed to us who enjoy it today. Not to squander, not to exploit, but to preserve and enhance for those who will follow after us.

Just as a man will stand by his family be it right or wrong, so will the patriot stand where Stephen Decatur stood when he offered the toast, "Our country, in her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right, but our country right or wrong."

We must do the job God set down for us. It's up to every American to fight for the freedom we hold so dear. We must instruct the young in the ways of these great United States. We mustn't let them take these freedoms for granted.

I want you to go on to live a full, rich, productive life. I want you to share your love with someone. You may meet another man and bring up a family. Please bring up your children to be proud Americans. Don't worry about me, honey. God must have a special place for soldiers.

I've died as I've always hoped, protecting what I do hold so dear to my heart. We will meet again in the future. We will. I'll be waiting for that day.

I'll be watching over you, Angie, and if it's possible to help you in some way I will.

Feel some relief with the knowledge that you filled my short life with more happiness than most men know in a lifetime.

The inevitable, well, the last one; I love you with all my heart and my love for you will survive into eternity.

Your Joey

"No Cause Other Than Our Own Survival"
Fighting a Different Kind of War
By Philip Caputo

The Vietnam War presented a difficult challenge to the U.S. military. Instead of all-out combat campaigns, American soldiers were forced to fight a war of attrition against a largely unseen enemy, the Viet Cong — communist guerrillas in South Vietnam. Philip Caputo, a Marine lieutenant, describes the frustration of that kind of warfare.

For Americans who did not come of age in the early 60s, it may be hard to grasp what those years were like — the pride and overpowering self-assurance that prevailed. Most of the 3,500 men in our brigade, born during or immediately after World War II, were shaped by that era, the age of the Kennedy's Camelot. We went overseas full of illusions, for which the intoxicating atmosphere of those years was as much to blame as our youth.

War is always attractive to young men who know nothing about it, but we had also been seduced to "ask what you can do for your country" and by the missionary idealism he had awakened in us. America seemed omnipotent then. The country could still claim it had never lost a war, and we believed we were ordained to play cop to the communists' robber and spread our own political faith around the world....

So, when we marched into the rice paddies on that damp March afternoon, we carried, along with our packs and rifles, the implicit convictions that the Viet Cong would be quickly beaten and that we were doing something altogether noble and good. We kept the packs and rifles; the convictions, we lost.

The discovery that the men we had scorned as peasant guerrillas were, in fact, a lethal determined enemy and the casualty lists that lengthened each week with nothing to show for the blood being spilled broke our early confidence. By autumn, what had begun as an adventurous expedition had turned into an exhausting, indecisive war of attrition in which we fought for no cause other than our own survival.

Writing about this kind of warfare is not a simple task. Repeatedly, I have found myself wishing that I had been the veteran of a conventional war, with dramatic campaigns and historic battles for subject matter instead of a monotonous succession of ambushes and fire-fights. But there were no Normandies or Gettysburgs for us, no epic clashes that decided the fates of armies or nations. The war was mostly a matter of enduring weeks of expectant waiting and, at random intervals, of conducting vicious manhunts through jungles and swamps where snipers harassed us constantly and booby traps cut us down one by one.

The tedium was occasionally relieved by a large-scale search-and-destroy operation, but the exhilaration of riding the lead helicopter into a landing zone was usually followed by more of the same hot walking, with the mud sucking at our boots and the sun thudding against our helmets while an invisible enemy shot at us from distant tree lines. The rare instances when the VC [Viet Cong] chose to fight a set-piece battle provided the only excitement; not ordinary excitement, but the manic ecstasy of contact. Weeks of bottled-up tensions would be released in a few minutes of orgiastic violence, men screaming and shouting obscenities above the explosions of grenades and the rapid, rippling bursts of automatic rifles.

Beyond adding a few more corpses to the weekly body count, none of these encounters achieved anything; none will ever appear in military histories or be studied by cadets at West Point. Still, they changed us and taught us, the men who fought in them; in those obscure skirmishes we learned the old lessons about fear, cowardice, courage, suffering, cruelty, and comradeship. Most of all, we learned about death at an age when it is common to think of oneself as immortal. Everyone loses that illusion eventually, but in civilian life it is lost in installments over the years. We lost it all at once and, in the span of months passed from boyhood through manhood to a premature middle age. The knowledge of death, of implacable limits placed on a man's existence, served us from our youth as irrevocably as a surgeon's scissors had once severed us from the womb. And yet, few of us were past 25. We left Vietnam peculiar creatures, with young shoulders that bore rather old heads.

"Helping Someone Die"
A Nurse's Trauma
By Dusty

About 7,500 women served in Vietnam, more than three-fourths as nurses. One of these nurses — so traumatized by her experience that she is known only by her nickname in Vietnam, Dusty — recalls the intimacy of helping a young soldier face death.

> When you are sitting there working on someone in the middle of the night, and it's a 19 year old kid who's 10,000 miles from home, and you know that he's going to die before dawn — you're sitting there checking vital signs for him and hanging blood for him and talking to him and holding his hand and looking into his face and touching his face, and you see his life just dripping away, and you know he wants his mother, and you know he wants his father and his family to be there, and you're the only one that he's got — I mean his life is just oozing away there — well, it oozes into your soul. There is nothing more intimate than sharing someone's dying with them. This kid should have had a chance to die in a bed with his loving family around him. Instead, he's got his second lieutenant. When you've got to do that with someone and give that person, at the age of 19, a chance to say the last things they are ever going to get to say, that act of helping someone die is more intimate than sex, it is more intimate than childbirth, and once you have done that you can never be ordinary again.

MODULE 3: APPENDIX H — PERSPECTIVES ON EVENTS AT MY LAI AND THE TRIAL OF LT. CALLEY

On March 16, 1968, each soldier at My Lai made a choice. What compelled these men to act as they did? Why did the massacre at My Lai happen? Can the actions of Charlie Company be explained? If they can be explained, can they be justified? Is there a difference in responsibility between officers who give orders and those enlisted men who follow the orders?

Here are a variety of perspectives and opinions about the events at My Lai, the nature of the Vietnam conflict, and the attitudes toward Vietnamese that some American troops developed. Some of these statements express opinions about the realities of war — not just the Vietnam War, but war itself. Military personnel and Vietnam veterans are identified as such.

In your opinion, which statements defend Lt. Calley? Which statements condemn his actions and support his "guilty" verdict? And which statements try to explain the acts of Charlie Company without either condemning or defending the men?

> NOT everyone commits atrocities... armies from democracies tend to commit relatively few of them... Even though I saw horrific combat I never had any problem understanding that you weren't supposed to kill civilians... I and everyone I know in the Vietnam veteran community was horrified and ashamed by My Lai, and consider it to be an aberration. That we acted on Hersh's news reports and were able to... bring people to trial is very much to our country's credit. Systematic torture and murder were used by the North as a means of waging war; U.S. atrocities were occasional and aberrations.
>
> *Jack Smith, a decorated Vietnam veteran who now works as a national correspondent for ABC News.*
>
> [I]n truth, because truth matters, my sympathies were rarely with the Vietnamese. I was mostly terrified. I was lamenting in advance of my own pitiful demise. After fire fights, after friends

died, there was also a great deal of anger — black, fierce, hurting anger — the kind you want to take out on whatever presents itself. This is not to justify what occurred here [in My Lai]. Justifications are empty and outrageous. Rather, it's to say that I more or less understand what happened..., how it happened, the wickedness that soaks into your blood and heats up and starts to sizzle. I know the boil that precedes butchery. At the same time, however, the men in Alpha Company [my company, stationed in Quang Nai a year after the massacre] did not commit murder... we did not cross that conspicuous line between rage and homicide.

Tim O'Brien, "The Vietnam in Me," *The New York Times Magazine. O'Brien, who has authored fiction and nonfiction books about the Vietnam War, served a tour of duty in Vietnam with the Army infantry.*

When we first started losing members of the company, it was mostly through booby traps and snipers. We never got into a main conflict... where you could see who was shooting and you could actually shoot back. We had heard a lot about women and children being used as booby traps and being members of the Vietcong. As time when on, you tended to believe it more and more... There was no question they were working for the Vietcong... You didn't trust them anymore. You didn't trust anybody... And I would say that in the end, anybody that was still in that country was the enemy.

Fred Widmer, radio operator with Charlie Company in My Lai.

Our mission was not to win terrain or territory or seize positions, but simply to kill; to kill Communists and to kill as many of them as possible... Victory was a high body count, defeat a low kill ratio, war a matter of arithmetic. The pressure on the unit commanders to produce corpses was intense, and they in turn communicated it to their troops... It is not surprising, therefore, that some men acquired a contempt for human life and a predilection for taking it.

Philip Caputo, A Rumor of War, *1988, N.Y., New York, Ballentine Books. Caputo, a Vietnam veteran, served as a lieutenant in the U.S. Marine Corps.*

When you're in an infantry company, in an isolated environment like [rural Vietnam], the rules of that company are foremost... The laws back home don't make any difference. What people think of you back home don't matter... What matters is how the people around you are going to see you. Killing a bunch of civilians in this way — babies, women, old men, people who were unarmed, helpless — was wrong. Every American would know that. Yet this company... didn't see it that way... [The company] was all that mattered. It was the whole world. What they thought was right was right. What they thought was wrong was wrong. The definitions for things were turned around. Courage was stupidity... and cruelty and brutality were seen sometimes as heroic. That's what it turned into.

Michael Bernhart, one of Charlie Company who refused to take part in the massacre, reflecting on the "laws" of Charlie Company. Four Hours in My Lai, *p. 19.*

Under no circumstances do I think a person placed in the situation of being required to kill should be punished for killing the wrong people.

Jerry Cramm, a student from Oklahoma City, letter to Life *magazine in December 1969.*

When you lose 21 men in an hour's time in a minefield, you tend to want something back for it. We actually wanted heavy contact out there. We were hoping for it.

Lawrence La Croix, squad leader, 2nd Platoon, Charlie Company.

We were kids, 18, 19 years old. I was 21 years old at the time [of the My Lai massacre]. I was one of the oldest people around among the common grunts.

Most of them [Charlie Company] had never been away from home before... Here are these guys who had gone in and in a moment, in a moment, following orders, in a context in which they'd been trained, prepared to follow orders, they do what they're told, and they shouldn't have, and they look back a day later and realize that they probably made the biggest mistake of their lives. [There were] only an extraordinary few people who were in those circumstances who had the presence of mind and the strength of their own character that would see them through. Most people [in Charlie Company] didn't.

Ronald Ridenhour was a helicopter door gunner in Vietnam during 1968 stationed near My Lai, although he was not present at My Lai on March 16. Ridenhour's letters to government officials about what had happened at My Lai triggered the original Army investigation of the massacre.

You really do lose your sense... not of right or wrong, but your degree of wrong changes... A different set of rules [emerges] and I don't think that any of us quite knew what those rules were.

Greg Olsen, a soldier in Charlie Company.

I thought that people were basically good and that they couldn't do this. I thought most of the values people held were pretty solid, that when we defined things as being good or bad, that they were good or bad and that we would know something was really bad. But I had seen that that was not the case. I wasn't sure that I could trust anyone again. I wasn't sure I could ever get close to anyone very closely because of what I'd seen over there.

Michael Bernhart, a soldier in Charlie Company who did not participate in the massacre.

I would expect that the President of the United States...would stand fully behind the law of this land on a moral issue which is so clear and about which there can be no compromise. For this nation to condone the acts of Lt. Calley is to make us no better that our enemies and make any pleas by this nation for the humane treatment of our own prisoners meaningless.

Capt. Aubrey Daniel, the Army's prosecutor in the Calley trail, in a letter to President Richard Nixon rebuking the President for granting Calley parole.

This is God's punishment to me Calley, but you'll get yours. God will punish you, Calley.

Paul Meadlo to Lt. Calley after Meadlo had stepped on a landmine the day after the massacre. Meadlo, who admitted to killing civilians at My Lai during the investigation, lost one of his feet.

How can I forgive? I can't forgive myself for the things — even though I knew it was something I was told to do... [H]ow can you go ahead with your life when this is holding you back. I can't put my mind to anything... Yes, I'm ashamed, I'm sorry, I'm guilty. But I did it. You know. What else can I tell you. It happened.

This [memories of My Lai] is my life. This is my past. This is my present and this is my future. And I keep it [an album of news clippings about My Lai] to remind me... This is my life. This is everything. This is the way I am. This is what made me this way.

Varnado Simpson reflecting to the authors of the book Four Hours in My Lai. *Simpson committed suicide in late 1997, a few months prior to the 30th Anniversary of the My Lai massacre.*

The massacre at My Lai and its subsequent cover-up stand in the history of the Vietnam War at the point where deception and self-deception converged. If the Tet Offensive of 1968 had mocked America's complacent expectation of an imminent victory, My Lai's exposure late in 1969 poisoned the idea that the war was a moral enterprise. The implications were too clear to escape. The parallels with other infamous massacres were too telling and too painful. My Lai had been on the same scale as [some of the Nazi's] World War II atrocities... Americans, who at Nuremberg had played a great part in creating the judicial machinery which had brought the nazi monsters to book, now had to deal with a monstrosity of their own making.

Michael Bilton and Kevin Sim, Four Hours in My Lai.

I think about it all the time, and that is why I am old before my time. I remember it all the time. I think about it and I can't sleep... I think of my daughter and my mother, both of them dead...

I won't forgive. I hate them [the soldiers of Charlie Company] very much. I won't forgive them as long as I live. Think of those children... still at their mother's breast being killed... I hate them very much.

Troung Thi Le, who lost nine members of her family during the massacre. Mrs. Le spoke to authors Michael Bilton and Kevin Sim through an interpreter. Four Hours in My Lai, *p. 23.*

Historical perspectives on war

We must act with vindictive earnestness against the Sioux [Indians], even to the extermination of men, women and children. Nothing else will reach the root of the cause.

General William Tecumseh Sherman, a Civil War hero, writing to General Ulysses Grant during a campaign against the Sioux in 1866.

As time went by our need to fight [for the ideal of freedom] increased to an unquestioning possession, riding with spur and rein over our doubts. Willy-nilly it became a faith. We had sold ourselves into its slavery... bowed ourselves to serve its holiness with all our good and ill content. [W]e had surrendered, not body alone but soul to the overmastering greed of victory. By our own act, we were drained of morality, of volition, of responsibility, like dead leaves in the wind...

The everlasting battle stripped from us care of our own lives or of others'... Gusts of cruelty, perversions, lusts ran lightly over the surface without troubling us; for the moral laws which had seemed to hedge about these silly accidents must yet be fainter words.

T.E. Lawrence, Seven Pillars of Wisdom, 1935, Garden City, NY, Doubleday, Doran & Company. A British soldier, Lawrence, popularly known as "Lawrence of Arabia", fought in the Middle East during World War I on the side of Arabs opposing the Germans and Turks.

Time had no meaning, life had no meaning. The fierce struggle for survival... eroded the veneer of civilization and made savages of us all. We existed in an environment totally incomprehensible to men behind the lines — service troops and civilians.

Eugene B. Sledge, ex-Marine and a veteran of the Pacific islands campaign during World War II.

MODULE 3: APPENDIX I — EXCERPTS, *VOICES FROM CAPTIVITY* BY ROBERT C. DOYLE

The following material has been excerpted from ***Voices From Captivity: Interpreting The American POW Narrative***, by Robert C. Doyle.

Nothing is worse for the military combatant than to have to lay down arms before the enemy. Although surrender is not considered dishonorable when a commander is no longer capable of fighting, it tarnishes a combatant's sense of personal honor. Universally, soldiers are taught that the objective of war and individual combat is to win. Surrender implies losing; and Americans in particular dislike losers, regardless of the context.

Beginning in 1963, American infantrymen and advisors to the South Vietnamese Army began to be captured. James N. Rowe was a first lieutenant in the U.S. Army's Special Forces, who in 1963 fought in a furious but losing engagement with the VC in the Mekong Delta region in South Vietnam. Rowe was captured while aiding his wounded comrade, Captain Humbert Rocky Vetsace, who, with his Army Sergeant Kenneth Roraback, would later be executed by his captors in reprisal for the Saigon government's execution of a VC terrorist. In his narrative, ***Five Years to Freedom***, Rowe describes his capture:

> I tied the bandage and slowly turned my head. There was the muzzle of an American carbine and behind it, the Viet Cong [sic]. I stood up, the two VC pulled my equipment harness from my shoulders, grabbed my arms, and quickly tied them behind me, once at the elbows, once at the wrists.
> God bless you, Nick.
> God bless you too, Rocky.
> Di! [Go]
> They threw me down the path.

Most prisoners in North Vietnam were airmen from the Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force who were shot down by anti-aircraft batteries, small arms, or surface-to-air missiles during combat missions over North Vietnam. From time to time, aircraft would collide in combat; or pilots suffered equipment malfunctions and, as Navy combat pilot and POW Richard Stratten commented, they would in effect shoot themselves down. With the aircraft on fire and probably disintegrating rapidly, each pilot had to balance the certainty of immediate death against the fear of captivity — either eject into the enemy's hands or die immediately.

All pilots and navigators carried survival equipment (e.g., pistol, radio, flares, compass, money, and personal effects); but few of these items did much good when a parachute's passenger hit the ground with a broken leg, injured back, or even more serious wounds. The downed aviator was a rat in a maze. Regardless of the circumstances, every shoot down was a traumatic experience. Injured or not, the airman's first thought was survival, his second thought was escape, and his third thought was rescue. Some were saved by Search and Rescue in North Vietnam; many were not.

Often prisoners, when captured, would be referred to by their captors as war criminals or as air pirates. In many cases, prisoners who invoked the Code of the Geneva Convention were at the least ignored and at the worst mocked. The rules of governance for treatment of POWs would not be a reality for Americans captured in Southeast Asia. Many U.S. military POWs were held in the capital of North Vietnam at a facility they referred to as the "Hanoi Hilton." Within the walls of this facility many prisoners were tortured or subjected to abuse by their captors. All told, 766 Americans were held as POWs during the Vietnam War, with 114 dying while in captivity. These men were held longer than any group of American POWs who were captured during America's previous wars.

The several Geneva Conferences, which were held during the course of the twentieth century, based their principles for the treatment of POWs on the articles drafted at the Hague Convention of 1899 in an effort to address disarmament, war at sea, and the establishment of a world court to adjudicate international disputes in lieu of war. The POW provisions reflected the principles of the Brussels Code, created in 1874, which was the first European conference to consider the treatment of POWs to be a humanitarian as well as a military issue. The representatives at Brussels incorporated many ideas of the American-Prussian immigrant Francis Lieber, who during the Civil War compiled for Abraham Lincoln General Order 100, The Rules of Land Warfare. As a result, in 1909 the U.S. ratified acceptance of the 1907 provisions that were made to the 1899 document signed at the Hague Convention. The most significant POW provisions include Section 1, "On Belligerents," chapter 2, articles 4-20, (module 3, appendix K).

In 1929, after the horror of World War I, the Geneva Conference convened with the purpose of laying down humanitarian rules to mitigate the barbarism of war. In spite of the Brussels Code, the activities of the International Red Cross, the traditional international rules of war, the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, and the separate treaties concluded by the belligerents in 1918, the abuse of POWs had continued occasionally on all sides during World War I. The gathering of nations in Geneva in 1929 attempted to establish rights and responsibilities for captors and captives alike and attempted to establish provisions to make sure that the statutes of the convention were observed. This convention dictated the basic rules for POWs during World War II: a new POW must tell captors his name, rank, and service number but need say nothing more. It set minimum standards for medical care and life maintenance and prohibited physical labor for officer prisoners. In other words, a prisoner had rights. By the time the United States became involved in a war in Vietnam, the military, diplomatic, and political communities knew that the Geneva Convention was a useless document to POWs caught in battles between nonsignatories or between parties that had made major reservations — such was the case of the government of North Vietnam. The soldiers, as usual, were caught in the middle. Consequently, from a practical and legal point of view, American POWs in Vietnam had no international law on which to base reasonable expectations; rather, they had only the idealistic Code of Conduct for members of the Armed Forces of the United States, which was first promulgated as a guideline for Americans in captivity by President Dwight Eisenhower in 1954.

The Vietnam War showed a startled American public that it was possible for captors consumed by a political ideology, antiquated neocolonial influences, and vengeance to avoid adherence to or find loopholes in the documents agreed upon at the various international conventions. Caught in the middle were U.S. military personnel in the hands of captors who told them they were criminals, pirates, and enemies of the people.

Van Anh

Van Anh, a member of the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN) in 1964, participated in the capture of an American pilot in Laos and narrates his experience in David Charnoff and Doan Van Toai's ***Portrait of the Enemy*** (1986). Stationed in Laos, Anh and his comrades responded to an alarm that signaled an air attack and fired all the small arms at the aircraft they could. After they destroyed the plane, the North Vietnamese soldiers captured the American pilot.

> The pilot came down into the jungle about three kilometers [almost two miles] away. We ran, struggling against time to get to the place where he fell before his comrades could get him. About fifteen minutes after he parachuted, the sky was full of jets, helicopters, and an L-19 spotter plane. We climbed the mountain, past the waterfall while they circled around, looking for him in the wrong place. It took us almost six hours to find and capture him, but by then the sky had clouded over, and the planes

> couldn't see anything underneath... The battalion commander told another comrade and me to write down the interrogation. This was the first time in my life I had met an American.

Colonel Norman McDaniel

Colonel Norman A. McDaniel, USAF, was an officer-crewman on a mission over North Vietnam in 1966, early in the war. His aircraft was struck by a missile and exploded into a fireball, and McDaniel faced his first decision: bail out or die. He left the burning aircraft for captivity in North Vietnam, which lasted from March 1966 to February 12, 1973. According to McDaniel:

> I went there not expecting to become a prisoner of war, but I knew that that possibility existed. And so as I flew my combat missions over North Vietnam, I was well aware of the perils and the possible dangers.
>
> On the morning of July 20, 1966 the EB-66C aircraft which I was flying — which is an electronics reconnaissance airplane — was hit by surface-to-air missiles. Fortunately, the detonation of the missile was not directly upon the airplane. Had it been, certainly, I would not be your speaker tonight. But fortunately, or unfortunately, the missile detonated close enough to the airplane that some of the fragments punctured the fuel tanks and the plane caught on fire immediately. Within a matter of seconds, I moved from a position of relative security — expecting to complete my mission and return to my base to rest and prepare for the next mission — to a position of imminent danger and possible death. Because as the plane went out of control, began to lose altitude, lose oxygen, pressurization, communication, I had to make a decision to stay with the airplane or to eject.
>
> There were six of us on the crew; four ejected downward, two ejected upward. I was supposed to be the first one to eject downward. Since we had lost communication I had to make that decision myself. And so I chose eject.

When he landed, he met the enemy face to face.

> As I descended, I saw holes being ripped in the parachute above me, and I heard the bullets zinging past my ear because the North Vietnamese were shooting at me as I descended in the chute. As soon as I hit the ground, the enemy converged upon me and captured me immediately. I had no chance to escape. I was stripped of my flight suit, flying boots, and clothing. My hands were tied behind my back, and I marched down the knoll of the little grassy hill to a hut. In the front yard of the hut was a pit which they began to force me into. I assumed at that time that this was the execution place, and for some reason I was not afraid. It might have been shock or it might have been the realization that it was my time. I thought to myself. "Well I have done my best, and I guess it's my time to go."

On the ground, McDaniel faced angry captors who made no bones about his status; McDaniel was a "war criminal" and an "air pirate." In a conversation with journalist Wallace Terry, McDaniel commented:

> I could smell the hate. Some of them had pistols. Some guns. Some shook knives at me, shovels, even hoes. They motioned for me to stand up. Then they inched forward, about fifty of them, communist militia, like popular forces...They made me strip down to my

> shorts and T-shirt. They took off my boots. They tied my hands behind me...When I mentioned the Geneva Convention, they laughed in my face. "You're not qualified to be treated as a prisoner of war. You're a criminal. Black American criminal."

Colonel Fred V. Cherry

Colonel Fred V. Cherry, USAF, a fighter pilot and the first African American POW in North Vietnam, was a member of the 35th Tactical Fighter Squadron, U.S. Air Force, Karot (Thailand) Air Force Base. He was shot down in May 1965 and was shuffled between various prison camps near Hanoi until his release on February 12, 1973. In Wallace Terry's ***Bloods*** (1984), Cherry narrates his remove and reflects on the length of time he would have to spend in captivity. He had little notion that it would last eight years: "Now they got me dressed the way they want me, and they are going to walk me three miles to this village. I didn't know my ankle was broken, too. I was dusty, hot, sweaty, and naturally, pissed off 'cause I was shot down. Didn't wanna be there. I'm thinkin' about two, three, four months. I'm not thinkin' about years. I'm not even thinkin' six months." Cherry was brought into the village and encountered violently angry civilians: "And this guy jumps on me, straddling my back. And he puts his automatic weapon right behind my ear with my nose pretty much in the dirt. And I said to myself, you know, this man might even shoot me." Then Cherry began to resist his captors: "When we got to the vehicle, they had a cameraman there. And he wanted to take pictures of me walkin' toward him. I wouldn't do it. I'd frown up and fall on my knees and turn my back. Finally, they quit. They never took any pictures. And they got me in the jeep." Finally, Cherry was interrogated for the first time: "The first place they tried to interrogate me appeared to be a secondary school. And they put me in this hut. I did what I was supposed to do. Name, rank, serial number, date of birth. And I started talking about the Geneva Convention. And they said forget it. "You a criminal.'"

Sergeant James Jackson

Sergeant James Jackson, Jr., of Talcott, West Virginia, was a Green Berret medic captured in South Vietnam on the morning of July 5, 1966. Sergeant Jackson was wounded in the battle before capture and could not be moved very easily. He knew that the Vietcong shot wounded prisoners on the spot or shortly after their capture, and because his captors spared his life and removed him to a prison pen, Jackson was thankful for his life. Released in 1968 as a political gesture, he narrated his eighteen-month ordeal of captivity to ***Ebony's*** managing editor, Hans J. Massaquoi. Typical of narrations published before the war's end, his polemic intent focuses on describing his personal experience, while he carefully avoids specific descriptions of mistreatment at the hands of the Vietcong.

> Since I couldn't walk because of my injury, I expected to be shot on the spot. But instead, my captors dragged me away from the immediate battle area. I was beaten and kicked and generally treated quite rough. At first I was taken to a small village and from there, after dark fell, I was moved to a Vietnamese POW camp for interrogation. It was early morning when I arrived there, anyway after midnight. The interrogation started soon after daybreak. The methods need not be described. All I can say is that it was quite agonizing... Eventually, I was moved to another camp that contained Americans, with no Vietnamese prisoners. Being in the company of other Americans definitely lifted my spirit.

Larry Guarino

In ***A POW's Story: 2801 Day in Hanoi*** (1990), Larry Guarino describes what the American prisoners called the "Heartbreak Hotel" section of the "Hanoi Hilton."

> I was shoved into the cell. I looked around me. It was about seven feet wide by sixteen feet long. Against the far wall was a wooden bench with a set of rusty old iron leg stocks set up to hold four people... There was on arched-shaped window seven feet from the floor, with a double set of iron bars across it. I could see out by climbing up on one of the benches, but there was nothing to see but another wall, six feet away. It was about sixteen feet high, topped with broken glass. Steel angle irons, strung with barbed wire, protruded from the top of the wall.

James Rowe

Most POWs saw only ugliness, dirt, and filth, with only their imaginations to create fantasies of the beauty of home. James N. Rowe, however, saw the U Minh Forest from his cage as offering a paradox between Vietnam's natural beauty and the ugly loneliness of his close confinement.

> Rest there, stranger, and enter not
> the green canopied world of progressive decay.
> From afar you viewed this land of trees,
> standing straight, leafy green,
> and thought to yourself in a pleased, human way,
> "how tall they stand, how thick the leaves.
> How alive that world of trees must be."
> For from afar it so appears. The trees reveal
> their gift of Nature, but hide from view the world within.
> So you approached while the sun was high,
> thinking of the shade and the cool relief
> from the sun's burning rays.
> I watched you come and knew your thoughts,
> for there are those who have entered before.

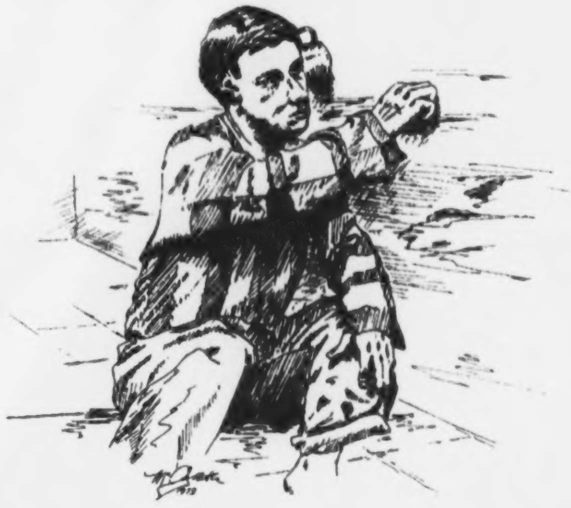
Eugene McDaniel

The North Vietnamese went further than prohibiting POW-written newspapers; they forbade even interpersonal communication between their prisoners. Eugene "Red" McDaniel's resistance narrative, ***Scars and Stripes*** (1975), notes that there were times when the prisoners beat the system by taking advantage of the Vietnamese custom of the midday snooze:

> From 11:30 am to 1:30 pm was siesta, and during this time we did our serious communicating. The guards were relaxed, knowing we would be napping anyway. At this time we would write notes...by mixing the brick dust that collected under our beds with water and using a bamboo stick from our brooms, we could write fairly well on the stiff onionskin toilet paper. We stuck these notes to the indented place in the underside of our toilet bowl... We called this our "pony express" system, and it worked well...There were other ways to communicate too: pounding on the walls, thumping the signals in the dirt with our brooms, and using coughs, hand signals, and clothes snapping.

MODULE 3: APPENDIX J — ILLUSTRATIONS, *PRISONER OF WAR: SIX YEARS IN HANOI* BY JOHN M. MCGRATH

The following illustrations were taken from *Prisoner of War: Six Years in Hanoi* by John M. McGrath. McGrath also provides a brief description of each of his drawings.

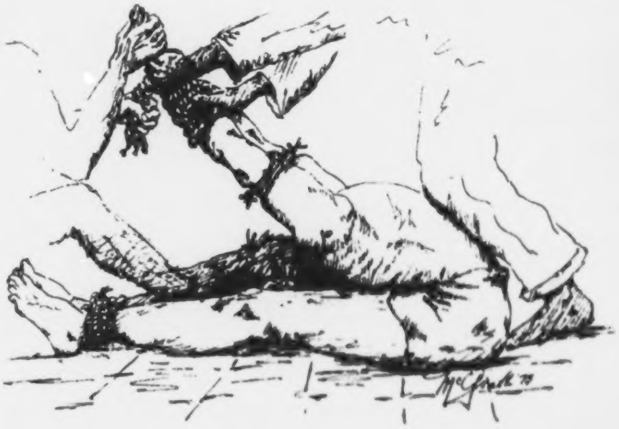


"Communications were the lifelines of our covert camp organization. It was essential for everyone to know what was happening in camp, whether the news was about a new torture or just a friendly word of encouragement to a disheartened fellow POW.

The primary means of communication was by use of the 'tap' code. The code was a simple arrangement of the alphabet into a 5 x 5 block. It was derived through one man's code knowledge gained from an Air Force survival school.

The Vietnamese were able to extract, by torture, every detail of the code. They separated us and built multiple screens of bamboo and tarpaper between each room, but they never succeeded in completely stopping us from communicating."

"Here, I tried to depict the 'Vietnamese rope trick.' The arms are repeatedly cinched up until the elbows are forced together. Sometimes at this point the 'hell cuffs' are applied. The 'hell cuffs' are handcuffs which are put on the upper arms and pinched as tightly as possible onto the arms, cutting off the circulation. The resulting pain is extreme. If the prisoner has not broken down by this time, his arms are rotated until the shoulders dislocate. Words could never adequately describe the pain, or the thoughts that go through a man's mind at a time like this."



Reprinted, by permission, from John M. McGrath, *Prisoner of War: Six Years in Hanoi* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, © 1975).

MODULE 3: APPENDIX K — EXCERPTS, HAGUE CONVENTION IV

Hague Convention IV (18 October 1907)
Convention Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land
Articles 1-56
Entry into Force: 26 January 1910

SECTION I,"ON BELLIGERENTS"

CHAPTER II
Articles 4-20
Prisoners of War

Art. 4. Prisoners of war are in the power of the hostile Government, but not of the individuals or corps who capture them.

They must be humanely treated.

All their personal belongings, except arms, horses, and military papers, remain their property.

Art. 5. Prisoners of war may be interned in a town, fortress, camp, or other place, and bound not to go beyond certain fixed limits, but they cannot be confined except as an indispensable measure of safety and only while the circumstances which necessitate the measure continue to exist.

Art. 6. The State may utilize the labor of prisoners of war according to their rank and aptitude, officers excepted. The tasks shall not be excessive and shall have no connection with the operations of the war.

Prisoners may be authorized to work for the public service, for private persons, or on their own account.

Work done for the State is paid for at the rates in force for work of a similar kind done by soldiers of the national army, or, if there are none in force, at a rate according to the work executed.

When the work is for other branches of the public service or for private persons, the conditions are settled in agreement with the military authorities.

The wages of the prisoners shall go towards improving their position, and the balance shall be paid them on their release, after deducting the cost of their maintenance.

Art. 7. The Government into whose hands prisoners of war have fallen is charged with their maintenance.

In the absence of a special agreement between the belligerents, prisoners of war shall be treated as regards board, lodging, and clothing on the same footing as the troops of the Government who captured them.

Art. 8. Prisoners of war shall be subject to the laws, regulations, and orders in force in the army of the State in whose power they are. Any act of insubordination justifies the adoption towards them of such measures of severity as may be considered necessary.

Escaped prisoners who are retaken before being able to rejoin their own army or before leaving the territory occupied by the army which captured them are liable to disciplinary punishment.

Prisoners who, after succeeding in escaping, are again taken prisoners, are not liable to any punishment on account of the previous flight.

Art. 9. Every prisoner of war is bound to give, if he is questioned on the subject, his true name and rank, and if he infringes this rule, he is liable to have the advantages given to prisoners of his class curtailed.

Art. 10. Prisoners of war may be set at liberty on parole if the laws of their country allow, and, in such cases, they are bound, on their personal honor, scrupulously to fulfill, both towards their own Government and the Government by whom they were made prisoners, the engagements they have contracted.

In such cases their own Government is bound neither to require of nor accept from them any service incompatible with the parole given.

Art. 11. A prisoner of war cannot be compelled to accept his liberty on parole; similarly the hostile Government is not obliged to accede to the request of the prisoner to be set at liberty on parole.

Art. 12. Prisoners of war liberated on parole and recaptured bearing arms against the Government to whom they had pledged their honor, or against the allies of that Government, forfeit their right to be treated as prisoners of war, and can be brought before the courts.

Art. 13. Individuals who follow an army without directly belonging to it, such as newspaper correspondents and reporters, sutlers and contractors, who fall into the enemy's hands and whom the latter thinks expedient to detain, are entitled to be treated as prisoners of war, provided they are in possession of a certificate from the military authorities of the army which they were accompanying.

Art. 14. An inquiry office for prisoners of war is instituted on the commencement of hostilities in each of the belligerent States, and, when necessary, in neutral countries which have received belligerents in their territory. It is the function of this office to reply to all inquiries about the prisoners. It receives from the various services concerned full information respecting internments and transfers, releases on parole, exchanges, escapes, admissions into hospital, deaths, as well as other information necessary to enable it to make out and keep up to date an individual return for each prisoner of war. The office must state in this return the regimental number, name and surname, age, place of origin, rank, unit, wounds, date and place of capture, internment, wounding, and death, as well as any observations of a special character. The individual return shall be sent to the Government of the other belligerent after the conclusion of peace.

It is likewise the function of the inquiry office to receive and collect all objects of personal use, valuables, letters, etc., found on the field of battle or left by prisoners who have been released on parole, or exchanged, or who have escaped, or died in hospitals or ambulances, and to forward them to those concerned.

Art. 15. Relief societies for prisoners of war, which are properly constituted in accordance with the laws of their country and with the object of serving as the channel for charitable effort shall receive from the belligerents, for themselves and their duly accredited agents every facility for the efficient performance of their humane task within the bounds imposed by military necessities and administrative regulations. Agents of these societies may be admitted to the places of internment for the purpose of distributing relief, as also to the halting places of repatriated prisoners, if furnished with a personal permit by the military authorities, and on giving an undertaking in writing to comply with all measures of order and police which the latter may issue.

Art. 16. Inquiry offices enjoy the privilege of free postage. Letters, money orders, and valuables, as well as parcels by post, intended for prisoners of war, or dispatched by them, shall be exempt from all postal duties in the countries of origin and destination, as well as in the countries they pass through.

Presents and relief in kind for prisoners of war shall be admitted free of all import or other duties, as well as of payments for carriage by the State railways.

Art. 17. Officers taken prisoners shall receive the same rate of pay as of officers of corresponding rank in the country where they are detained, the amount to be ultimately refunded by their own Government.

Art. 18. Prisoners of war shall enjoy complete liberty in the exercise of their religion, including attendance at the services of whatever church they may belong to, on the sole condition that they comply with the measures of order and police issued by the military authorities.

Art. 19. The wills of prisoners of war are received or drawn up in the same way as for soldiers of the national army.

The same rules shall be observed regarding death certificates as well as for the burial of prisoners of war, due regard being paid to their grade and rank.

Art. 20. After the conclusion of peace, the repatriation of prisoners of war shall be carried out as quickly as possible.

MODULE 3: APPENDIX L — POEMS

Like Swans on Still Water

By Dana Shuster, ©1991

Like swans on still water they skim over the war
Ao dais gliding, rustling serenely
gleaming black hair pulled primly away
from faces that reveal nothing save inner repose,
a beauty so deep even war can't defile.

I note my reflection in their obsidian eyes —
an outsized barbarian, ungainly, unkempt,
baggy in ever-wilted greens,
five-pound boots taking plowhand strides,
face perpetually ruddy, dripping in alien heat.

In their delicate presence I exhume teenage failures —
the girl in the back row forever unnoticed,
the one no one ever invited to dance,
the one never voted most-likely anything,
the one who was never quite something enough.

But once in a while, on a crazy-shift morning,
when I've worked through the night and I'm too tired to care,
a young man who reeks of rice paddies lies waiting
for someone to heal the new hole in his life.
He says through his pain, all adolescent bravado,
"Hey, what's your name? Let's get married. I love you."

And just for a moment I become Nefertiti
and for all the Orient's pearls and silks

I would not trade the glamour and privilege
of these honored hands, licensed to touch
on filthy GI.

In the sonnet below by Stephen Sossaman, a Vietnam veteran is at a barbeque years after returning from the war. At many base camps in Vietnam, latrine waste was collected in halves of 55-gallon drums and disposed of by being doused with diesel fuel and burned, creating a smell that most veterans cannot forget. The poem opens when the speaker's memories of the war are triggered by smelling the barbeque smoke. Sossaman was in the U.S. Army near Ben Tre in Vietnam's Mekong Delta.

A Veteran Attends A July 4th Barbeque
By Stephen Sossaman, ©1980

Black clouds of bittersweet and greasy taste
Encircled all we had and all we wore;
They came from cleansing fires of latrine waste
And left a trace of ash on every pore.
It gathered there and worked its way quite deep
Like napalm stink when Ben Tre cracked and burned,
Like sounds of rockets heard in fitful sleep,
Or popping pork when the steel spit is turned.
Those shreds of meat impaled upon the spit
Those shards of petrol bursting through the smoke,
Those bones burned black and brittle in the pit
Can cause a careless man to gag and choke.
Others cradling beer cans 'round the pyre
Advise me not to go near the fire.

STUDENT'S GUIDE TO *A VETERAN ATTENDS A JULY 4TH BARBEQUE*

Special vocabulary

Latrine: a military toilet (here, an outhouse with seats over halves of oil drums).

Ben Tre: a Vietnamese city badly damaged during the 1968 Tet offensive.

Shards: jagged fragments created by the explosion of an artillery or rocket round, but used here to describe the sharp smell of charcoal fluid.

Pyre: the mound of wood used to cremate a corpse, but used here to describe the barbeque.

Ask yourself:

1. What evidence suggests that the veteran is troubled by the war?
2. What remembered images appear to the veteran?
3. What two types of rockets are meant in line 7?
4. What is happening in line 12?
5. How might the advice given to the veteran by others at the barbeque be ironic?

(©1980 Stephen Sossaman. Published in Centennial Review. Teachers may copy and distribute this poem for classroom use.)

TEACHER'S GUIDE TO *A VETERAN ATTENDS A JULY 4TH BARBEQUE*

1. Smoke from the barbeque triggers the speaker's memory of smoke during the war, initially smoke from burning latrine waste and then smoke from napalm and other explosives. Memories of smells trigger memories of sounds and sights.

2. The speaker moves from consciousness into a reverie, probably at its deepest at line 11, until he is jolted back to the present by his gagging and the futile advice of those around him, who think he is gagging from the smoke, rather that from memories.

3. The pleasure of the barbeque has an unpleasant mirror image in memories of the war. Cooking meat suggests napalm victims, charcoal fluid evokes napalm's smell, and the pork ribs or steak bones suggest human war victims.

4. The speaker might be gagging from the barbeque smoke or from the horror of his recollections. If the former, the couplet is trivial; if the latter, the poem shows the power of veteran's memories. In this case the bystanders' ignorance of the cause of the veteran's suffering symbolizes the feeling some veterans have that others cannot understand what they experienced or feel.

5. The poem uses several poetic devices, including:

Ambiguity: (multiple complementary meanings) "rockets" suggests both the enemy's rockets heard while the soldier is half sleeping and the July 4th fireworks. "Careless" suggests that the speaker is not paying attention to where the barbeque smoke is drifting, but it also suggests a man who has no cares (ironically, since the veteran certain has worrisome cares).

Imagery: the sounds, sights, and smells of the present evoke memories of similar sounds, sights, and smells of the war.

Connotation: the beer cans suggest leisure, pleasure, and the bystander's lack of understanding. "Impaled" suggests violent death.

Alliteration: the repeated "b" sounds in line 11 suggest the hypnotic reverie of the veteran.

Irony: "cleansing" fires destroy excrement but leave ash on the soldier. The bystander's suggestion is ironic because while the veteran can stand back from the barbeque it is too late to avoid the fires of war that haunt him.

Symbols: "fire" in line 14 symbolizes the war. The ash symbolizes unpleasant memories.

Form: this is an English sonnet (three four-line sections, each relatively contained, followed by a couplet that provides closure). The rhyme scheme is abab cd cd efef gg.

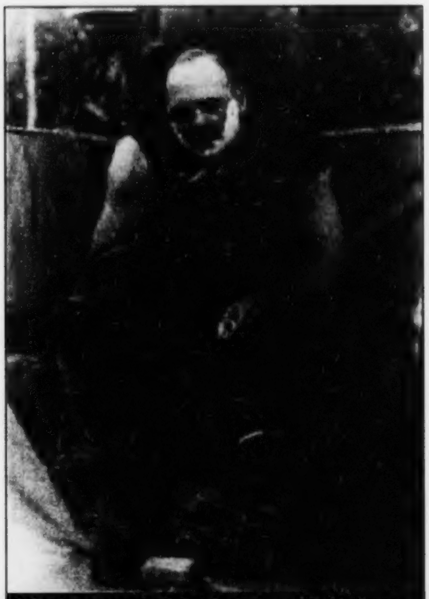
MODULE 3: APPENDIX M — BEYOND THE WAR: HOLLYWOOD AND THE VIETNAM WAR

You may wish to use various Hollywood interpretations of the Vietnam War in a creative fashion. These suggestions are based on the work and ideas presented in the book ***American History on the Screen: A Sourcebook for Teachers.*** Because so many students today learn their history, through motion pictures, it is imperative that some lesson be put in place as part of this unit that explores the difference between "real" history and "reel" history.

This outline provides a great deal of latitude should you plan to use motion pictures as a part of your study on Vietnam. Please note that a number of the films that are listed contain an "R" rating, and showing the films or asking your students to watch the films may require that you check with your school district's policies. In any case, teachers should preview all material prior to having students watch them.

Since this is a long-term research project, students should be given ample time to complete the assignment. Teachers may want to consider assigning the work six weeks before it is due. In some respects, students will need to be their own historians. If the assignment is given in this context, teachers will have to expect that students will need to do their own investigation into the background of the war, with minimal teacher direction on or classroom discussion on Vietnam. You may also wish to consider this follow-up activity once the student presentations are complete.

Have students write an essay on how the history of Vietnam has been interpreted through feature-length motion pictures and how the motion picture industry has helped shape the legacy and perception of the Vietnam War.



A first sergeant of 1st Battalion, 4th Marines, prepares to shave while in the mountains of Vietnam on Operation Scotland II.

APPENDIX FOR MODULE FOUR

Please refer to the material below to supplement the lessons in module 4.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Ho Chi Minh, born in 1890, was the son of a nationalist father. In 1912 Ho went to France. During the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 he attempted to meet with President Woodrow Wilson to request self-determination for Vietnam. Until his death in 1969, he continued his quest for a united Vietnam under the direction of a communist government. This was achieved in 1975 after the fall of Saigon.

MODULE 4: APPENDIX A — EXCERPTS, *VIETNAM: A HISTORY* BY STANLEY KARNOW

The following is a passage from ***Vietnam: A History***, by Stanley Karnow, p.109-110.

> All subject peoples are filled with hope by the prospect that an era of right and justice is opening for them...in the struggle of civilization against barbarism.
>
> *Ho Chi Minh*

But for his Asian features, he might have been an impoverished young French intellectual, a familiar sight in the Paris of the early 1920s. Small and frail, with a shock of black hair and piercing black eyes, he occupied a shabby room in a hotel on a dead-end street behind Montmartre, eking out a livelihood by enlarging and retouching photographs — "a souvenir of your relatives and friends," his visiting card advertised. He was never without a book, either Shakespeare or Hugo or Zola, and he rarely missed a weekly meeting of the Club du Faubourg, a genteel group that discussed drama, literature and sometimes even spiritualism, but generally avoided political issues. Earnest yet gentle, reserved yet not timid, he would speak up in fluent French at those sessions, his intensity tempered by wit. Or, as a contemporary French acquaintance recalled later: "He seemed to be mocking the world, and also mocking himself."

But even during those balmy days in Paris, he was a determined revolutionary, devoted to the Vietnamese struggle against French colonialism. He had earlier borne several different names, and he would use many aliases as an underground Communist agent in the years to come. He then called himself Nguyen Ai Quoc, Nguyen the Patriot. Two decades later, during a more tumultuous period, he would assume a more appropriate nom de guerre, Ho Chi Minh — the "enlightened" leader of the Vietminh.

Like other nationalists of his generation who had lived in France or attended French schools in Vietnam, Nguyen Ai Quoc absorbed the influence of the West but rejected its domination. His experience conformed to Vietnam's past. For long before the French conquest, the Vietnamese had borrowed Chinese culture, institutions, ethics and even calligraphy while resisting China's efforts to control their country. But French imperialists, in their campaigns to subjugate Vietnam, committed the mistake of believing, as Prime Minister Jules Ferry had put it, that their Vietnamese foes were merely "bandits" without "any sentiment of patriotism." Similarly, American strategists would later misperceive Ho Chi Minh, though an avowed Communist, as simply a soviet instrument. These errors stemmed largely from an ignorance of Vietnam's history, a long and tortuous series of conflicts and accommodations that gave the Vietnamese a profound sense of their own identity.

MODULE 4: APPENDIX B — POEM, *MOURNING THE DEATH, BY HEMORRHAGE, OF A CHILD FROM HONAI* BY BASIL T. PAQUET

*Mourning the Death, by Hemorrhage, of A Child from Honai**
By Basil T. Paquet

Always the children are included
In these battles for the body politic.
Prefaced with mortars and rockets
The year of the Monkey was preluded
By the mephitic
Stench of blasted bodies sullenly drifting from the pocket

Of refugee hootches at Honai.
The enemy patriots knew the young
Would be glad to die for the revolution.
The allies were certain the vox populi
Called a mandate for flag-strung
Counter attack and awful retribution.

The majesty of the annihilation of the city
Could be heard clearly in the background,
I could only wonder what ideology
The child carried in her left arm — necessity
Must have dictated an M-16 round
Should cut it off, and her gaining the roll of martyrology.

Her dying in my arms, this daughter
Weaned on war, was for the greater
Glory of all concerned.
There was no time to mourn your slaughter
Small, denuded, one-armed thing, I too was violator,
And after the first death, the many must go unmourned.

**The village of Honai lies between Bien Hoa and the Post of Long Binh. It is a village of North Vietnamese refugees and was known as "Sniper's Village". After the Tet Offensive of 1968 it was known as "Widow's Village."*

MODULE 4: APPENDIX C — ADDRESS, POLITICAL REPORT OF THE CHARTER COMMITTEE FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM

Political Report of the Charter Committee

Delivered by Comrade Le Duan, Secretary General, and the General Resolution of the Congress during the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam (Vietnam Workers Party) held in Hanoi from December 14-20, 1969.

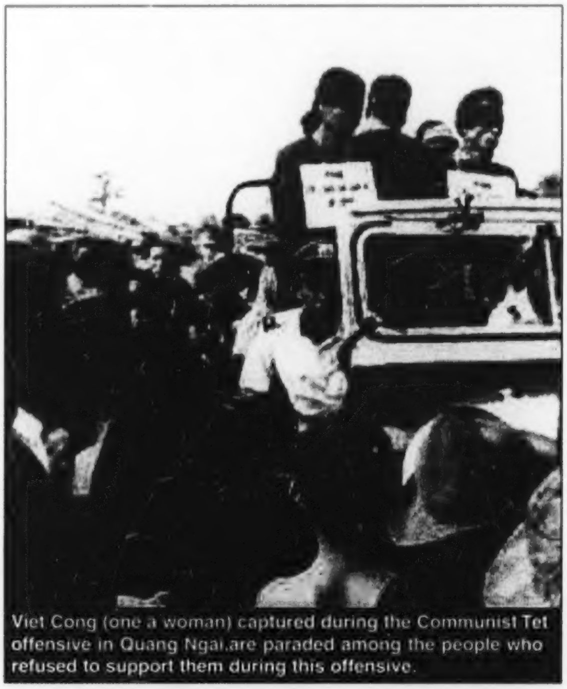
Comrade delegates,
Esteemed guests,

Sixteen years have elapsed between the Third Congress and this Fourth Congress of our Party.

During this period, our motherland has been through the most severe of trials. Hardly had our people emerged from the great war of resistance against the French colonialists, when they engaged in another struggle against the unprecedentedly atrocious aggressive war unleashed by U.S. imperialism, the chieftain of imperialism, the international gendarme, the most cruel enemy of mankind. In this contest, the U.S. imperialists hoped to crush our people within a short time. Yet under the correct leadership of our Party, and with the wholehearted support of brothers and friends the world over, our people and our army in the whole country fought with great heroism and won a most brilliant victory.

The victory of our people in the patriotic war of resistance against U.S. aggression will stand the test of time, will go down in the history of our nation as one of the most brilliant chapters, a radiant symbol of the complete victory of revolutionary heroism and human intelligence and will go down in world history as a great international importance and of profound epoch-making character.

Our glorious Party comes to this Fourth Congress, overbrimming with enthusiasm and revolutionary energy, rapidly grown up in its political stature and creative power, more united and of one mind than ever, bound more than ever to the class and the nation, to the great international army of communists, to the fighters who have been struggling for independence, freedom and social progress the world over. Our Party is firmly confident in its own strength and in the correct lines blazed by this Congress for the Vietnamese revolution in the new stage.



Viet Cong (one a woman) captured during the Communist Tet offensive in Quang Ngai,are paraded among the people who refused to support them during this offensive.

APPENDIX FOR MODULE FIVE

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS

- Video — ***The Wall That Heals,*** Simitar Entertainment, Inc., 1997
- Book — Scruggs, Jan, ed. ***Why Vietnam Still Matters: The War and The Wall,*** Washington, D.C. Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund, 1996
- Book — Scruggs, Jan, ed. ***Voices From The Wall,*** Washington, D.C.: Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund, 1998

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The Vietnam Veterans Memorial stands as a symbol of America's honor and recognition of the men and women who served in the Vietnam War. Inscribed on the black granite wall are the names of more than 58,000 Americans who gave their lives or remain missing. Yet the Memorial itself is dedicated to honor the "courage, sacrifice, and devotion to duty and country" of all who answered the call to serve during the longest war in U.S. history.

The Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund, Inc. is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization authorized by Congress in 1979 to fund and build the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C. Incorporated on April 27, 1979 by a group of veterans led by Jan C. Scruggs, who was wounded and decorated for service in Vietnam, the organization sought a tangible symbol of recognition from the American people for those who served in the war. By separating the issue of individuals serving in the military from the controversy surrounding the war, VVMF's leaders hoped to begin a process of national reconciliation.

Two members of the U.S. Senate, Charles Mathias (R-MD) and John Warner (R-VA), took the lead in Congress to enact legislation providing three acres in the northwest corner of the Mall as a site for the Memorial.

For its juried design competition, VVMF set four criteria: The design had to be (1) reflective and contemplative in character, (2) harmonize with its surroundings, (3) display the names of all who died or remain missing in Vietnam, and (4) make no political statement about the war.

Of the 1,421 entries, one submitted by Maya Ying Lin, a 22-year-old architecture student at Yale University, was the unanimous choice. Her design was a chevron-shaped, polished black granite wall to be built into the earth's surface.

Lin wanted the Memorial to appear as a rift in the earth, "emerging from and receding into the earth." One section of the wall would point to the Lincoln Memorial while the other section pointed to the Washington Monument, thus bringing the Memorial into the historical context of our country while maintaining the serenity of the area.

Carved at the vertex of the wall, on the right side, would be the date of the first casualty of Vietnam, followed by the names of those who died and remain missing in chronological order. The names would continue until the wall receded into the ground and resume on the left wall emerging from the ground continuing back to the vertex of the wall where the date of the last casualty would be inscribed. The beginning and ending of the war — joined forever. Not even Maya Lin could have imagined the lasting impact the Vietnam Veterans Memorial would have on our nation.

VVMF was able to raise $8.5 million to build the Memorial. Donations came from corporations, veterans groups, foundations, civic organizations, and more than 275,000 individuals across the country.

With the site designated, the design selected, and the money raised VVMF was quick to begin construction. Ground was broken on March 26, 1982. Less than eight months later, America gave the Vietnam veterans the homecoming they deserved.

A National Salute to Vietnam Veterans was held in Washington, D.C., from November 10-14, 1982, climaxing with the dedication of the Memorial on November 13. Thousands of Vietnam veterans crowded the nation's capital for a week of reunions and reconciliation.

Two years later Frederick E. Hart's heroic-size statue, Three Servicemen, was dedicated on the Memorial site and a flagpole was added nearby. On Veterans Day, 1984, President Ronald Reagan accepted the Memorial as a gift to the nation from the VVMF. Within a short time, The Wall had become the most visited memorial in the nation and the Vietnam veterans were finally welcomed home.

On Veterans Day 1993 the Vietnam Women's Memorial was dedicated. The statue, designed by Glenda Goodacre, depicts three military women, one of whom is tending to a wounded serviceman.

Today, VVMF continues to work with the National Park Service in maintaining and improving the Memorial and its grounds, so that each visitor may truly experience its healing power. In addition, VVMF sponsors programs that strive to preserve the vast legacy of The Wall and to educate about the impact of the Vietnam War era on American society. Included among these programs is ***The Wall That Heals*** Traveling Memorial and Multi-Media Museum. This traveling exhibit travels to communities throughout the world offering millions the healing and educational experience of The Wall.

MODULE 5: APPENDIX A — POEM, *THE WALL* BY DOUG ANDERSON

The Wall: For Maya Lin
By Doug Anderson

Black mirror cut into the green, from a distance seems a scar,
but closer, the crook of an arm to cradle the head,
it draws us in, embraces. A place of whispers, and tourists
wander confused, are hesitant to photograph, seeing themselves
reflected so. How are we to be, they seem to ask, and what is this?
The young ask especially, threatened by this invitation to grieve,
this knowledge of how things become one in the end, or how
this labial gesture of stone draws the surrounding monuments
into contention, shames them with the suggestion that we are not stone,
but reflections of earth, before and behind these names.
I move my finger down the index, find the name of the first man
I could not help, and for a moment, the tree splintering
in front of me, smell of blood and cordite, his lips turning blue,
the gasp of a lung filling with blood. I select more names
in order of their passing, find their places on the wall.
All along the base dried flowers scatter, some have left letters
to the dead, some medals. A young girl, too young to know this war,
sobs nonetheless, so precise are these fifty-eight thousand facts,
but we who fought there never imagined we would return to such a world,
to such a monument, numb, we did not yet imagine that for us the war
had just begun, that for years we would be picking through the shards,
the war pursuing us everywhere, our dreams, our lives with women,

chasing us from hiding place to hiding place, would wait at the edge
of whatever anesthesia's groundfog, would wait, would wait until
we looked it in the eye. My face reflected, I watch the wall's
perspective vector into earth and wonder, how long a wall,
if we inscribe three million Vietnamese, four million Cambodians,
how long a wall? And after Hiroshima and the Holocaust how if an
Asian woman turns a mirror of black granite, gazing stone of possibility,
womb of Kali, and not least, the night we wander in becoming whole.

MODULE 5: APPENDIX B — POEM, *CHRISTMAS IN CHILD'S WORLD* BY STEPHEN SOSSAMAN

This poem by Vietnam veteran Stephen Sossaman defends The Wall against the early critics of the design who wanted a traditional, more heroic memorial. In fact, a more conventional statue of three soldiers was later erected close by The Wall. In this poem the speaker is in a toy store when he discovers among the kits of model airplanes and cars that the statue of the soldiers is also available as plastic model.

Christmas In Child's World
By Stephen Sossaman, © 1999

A shopper seeking models to give boys
Who like things known to soldiers and to jocks
Find here in Child's World, among the toys
The statue of three 'Nam grunts in a box

Of plastic parts to be pieced back together.
The real one's in D.C., a late concession
To those who saw The Wall and wondered whether
The facts of war required more discretion.

The three men offer little to a boy
(Who'll fit things as instructed, use some paints)
And are too stiff to function as a toy.
Once done they'll be ignored, like plaster saints.

Why a kit of them and not The Wall?
To boys the men seem real, if tired and slack,
Sport military gear and, after all,
The only color for The Wall is black.

MODULE 5: APPENDIX C — REMARKS, BY GENERAL ALEXANDER M. HAIG, JR.

Remarks By General M. Alexander Haig, Jr.
Delivered On Memorial Day, May 31, 1999

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We meet here today to mark both the past and the future, the memory of those who have gone before and the meaning of their sacrifice for those yet to come.

A nation's memory includes both victory and defeat, glory and shame, those events that went right and those that went wrong. Sometimes, the memory of an event remains controversial, inconclusive, a question mark on the nation's mind, a rebuke to the sin of excessive pride.

Vietnam was one of those events.

How fitting it is that we stand here solemnly before a low wall, a humble wall. There is no triumphal arch, no victories etched in stone, yet through design or accident it is high enough to be seen from the Secretary of State's Office. This wall reminds the stewards of our foreign policy that the national interest is underwritten by the flesh and blood of sacrifice.

Every time I visit this place I also see the group of soldiers, cast in bronze who face this wall. And in this old general's eyes, their faces appear to be puzzled. Are they surprised to see their names engraved here? Are they wondering whether we, the living, have the intelligence to understand what happened and not let it happen again? Are they frozen in disbelief that twenty-five years after their sacrifices we are again afflicted with the old illusions, the tactics of graduated response, the refusal to understand the nature of war, the unwillingness to tell the truth to ourselves about what must be done? Do they see yet another wall in the making?

I tremble to answer these questions.

Yet I do not hesitate to declare that the meaning of this day and this wall is to reaffirm the necessity of patriotism. Beyond our individual wants there must be a dedication to the values that unite us. And for those values to order our society we must be prepared to sacrifice for them, each in our own way. Those names on the wall, those bronze veterans over there, they made the supreme sacrifice.

For the sake of our country, our sons and daughters — my comrades, have shed their blood. They sacrificed their future so that we and our children and our children's children might enjoy the blessings of liberty in this land. This is the simple truth engraved on these stones. This is the simple legacy they have left to us.

But these stones are not silent. Do not forget us, they say. Do not forget the cause of liberty. Do not forget the cause of America.

Let us therefore rededicate ourselves this Memorial Day, when our country is yet again at war, to an understanding of what they left us and what we must make of our country.

Let us say each of us in our hearts, we know what you did. We shall not forget. And we shall be worthy of your sacrifice.

APPENDIX FOR MODULE SIX

Please refer to the material below to supplement the lessons in module 6.

MODULE 6: APPENDIX A — EXCERPTS, *VIETNAM: A HISTORY* BY STANLEY KARNOW

Vietnam: A History, by Stanley Karnow, is widely accepted by educators, journalists, and historians as the finest history of the Vietnam War. A fourteen-part television series by WGBH, in Boston, was produced from the book. Mr. Karnow graciously allowed us to condense his work to help the VVMF's educational mission.

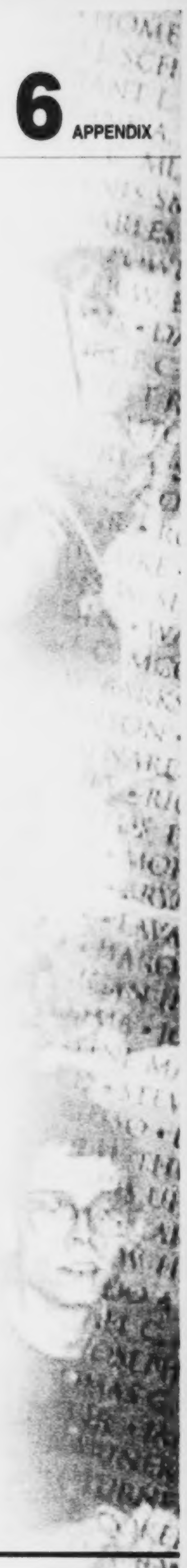
> Vietnam is still with us. It has created doubts about American judgment, about American credibility, about American power — not only at home, but throughout the world. It has poisoned our domestic debate. So we paid an exorbitant price for the decisions that were made in good faith and for good purpose.
>
> *Henry Kissinger*

The Vietnam Veterans Memorial, an angle of polished black stone subtly submerged in a gentle slope, is an artistic abstraction. Yet its simplicity dramatizes a grim reality. The names of the dead engraved on the granite record more than lives lost in battle: they represent a sacrifice to a failed crusade, however noble or illusory its motives. In a larger sense they symbolize a faded hope — or perhaps the birth of a new awareness. They bear witness to the end of America's absolute confidence in its moral exclusivity, its military invincibility, its manifest destiny. They are the price, paid in blood and sorrow, for America's awakening to maturity, to the recognition of its limitations. With the young men who died in Vietnam died the dream of an "American century."

Thousands of Vietnam veterans streamed into Washington on a crisp November weekend in 1982, along with their families and the families of the dead, to dedicate the memorial. Some were paraplegics in wheelchairs, others amputees. They wore fatigues or business suits, and several came in full combat gear. There were speeches and reunions and a parade, and a solemn service at the National Cathedral, where volunteers had held a candlelight vigil throughout the week, reciting the names of the nearly fifty-eight thousand killed and missing in action, one by one. From afar, the crowds resembled the demonstrators who had stormed the capital during the Vietnam War to denounce the conflict. But past controversies were conspicuously absent that weekend. Now Americans appeared to be redeeming a debt to the men who had fought and died — saluting their contribution, expiating their suffering. The faces, the words of dedication and the monument itself seemed to heal wounds.

History is an organic process, a continuity of related events, inexorable yet not inevitable. Leaders and the people who follow them make and support choices, but within the context of their experience and aspirations. The roots of the American intervention in Vietnam were planted and nurtured in what Professor Daniel Bell of Harvard has called America's concept of its own "exceptionalism." The freighted phrase "manifest destiny" signified belief in their obligation to export their benefits to less privileged civilizations abroad. It was amplified by such idealists as Walt Whitman, who foresaw America projecting its "happiness and liberty" to the ancient cultures of Asia. Later, progressives like John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson became convinced they were extending their liberal ethic to Vietnam as an antidote to totalitarianism.

This doctrine of manifest destiny was distinct from the imperialist dynamic that flourished around the turn of the century. The United States did reach out to grab the Hawaiian Islands, Guam and part of Samoa, and it took over Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines after defeating Spain in 1898. But while the European powers were then carving up Asia and Africa, there was little



inclination in America for dominating foreign territories. In contrast to the Europeans, who needed overseas raw materials and outlets for their industries, the United States could rely on its own resources and a vast domestic market. Besides, as former rebels against oppressive British colonialism, Americans were instinctively repelled by the idea of governing other peoples. Distinguished molders of opinion at the time, such as Andrew Carnegie and President Charles Eliot of Harvard, vigorously opposed imperialism, asserting among their arguments that it violated free trade.

So Cuba was granted independence, and bids by Haiti and San Domingo to become American dominions were rejected. The United States, unlike the Europeans, refrained from plunging into the plunder of China and characteristically used an indemnity fund for damages incurred during the Boxer Uprising to school Chinese in the United States. The Philippines, the major possession to remain under American tutelage, was finally subdued after a protracted "pacification" campaign that foreshadowed U.S. strategy in Vietnam. But America's acquisition of the archipelago had been reluctant. As President William McKinley later confessed: "The truth is, I didn't want the Philippines, and when they came to us as a gift from the gods...there was nothing left for us to do but take them all and to educate the Filipinos...and, by God's grace, do the best we could do for them."

It would be a gross distortion to suggest that the U.S. presence abroad was consistently prompted by such benign altruism. Big business exploited "our little brown brothers" in the Philippines just as it manipulated the economies of Latin America, often underwriting local despots in order to defend its interests. But a more prevalent strain in American expansionism was evangelical — as if the United States was fulfilling some sacred responsibility. "The world today looks to us for leadership," said Harry Truman, and Dwight Eisenhower spoke in similar terms. So did President Kennedy, promising in his inaugural address that America would "pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and the success of liberty." Lyndon Johnson's goal, as he described it, was to "bring peace and hope to all the peoples of the world," and Richard Nixon portrayed himself as the architect of an international "structure of peace."

America thus proceeded on assumptions shared by the government and the public in an atmosphere of bipartisan consensus. The great strategic debates of the postwar period — such as "massive retaliation" versus "flexible response" — focused on means rather than aims. Accordingly, the United States did not stumble into the Vietnam quagmire blindly, nor was it propelled toward the conflict by a cabal of warmongers in the White House, the Pentagon, the State Department or the Central Intelligence Agency in collaboration with Wall Street and corporate America. Legions of civilian and military bureaucrats went through a slow, cumbersome and often agonizing process as they studied data and drafted plans and options, which the president carefully weighed along with domestic political factors before making choices. His judgments were also swayed by preconceptions based on past experiences or even personal idiosyncrasies. So, while the formulation of policies for Vietnam was not haphazard, neither was it scientific. Yet the decisions, however they were shaped, reflected the view of most Americans that they could not shirk their responsibility as global custodian.

The disaster in Vietnam dimmed that view, leaving Americans baffled and ambivalent about their role in the world. And, over the ensuing years, other reverses further punctured their dream of preeminence. In 1973, the Middle East oil producers boosted the price of petroleum, thereby demonstrating the vulnerability of the United States and other industrial societies. Americans also saw themselves lagging behind other nations in such fields as technology, education, public health and urban renewal. Burdened by a huge federal budget deficit, a consequence of its profligate

spending, the United States soon became reliant on foreign purchases of treasury notes and bonds to avoid bankruptcy. By 1989, for the first time since the end of World War I, foreign investments in America had surpassed American investments abroad. Once the world's leading creditor, the United States became for awhile the world's leading debtor.

The Vietnam debacle, the only defeat in U.S. history, had deflated its overweening belief in American supremacy. In January 1991, when President George Bush unleashed a U.S. offensive against Iraq following its occupation of Kuwait, he did so only after mobilizing United Nations support in an effort to dramatize that America was not acting alone. Announcing the attack, moreover, he sought to exorcise the specter of Southeast Asia by pledging that "this will not be another Vietnam" conflict in which, as he put it, U.S. troops were "asked to fight with one hand tied behind their back." Nevertheless, his deployment had been preceded by sharp divisions in both Congress and in American public opinion that recalled the controversies that split the nation during the Vietnam War. And even after hostilities erupted, the country was sober and uncertain as widespread doubt and anxiety tempered the manifestations of patriotism. The days were gone when Americans, convinced of their invincibility, felt comfortable and confident in the posture of international gendarme.

At the end of February, however, the mood of America changed overnight from one of apprehension to a mixture of relief and jubilation as the U.S. and allied forces in the Persian Gulf won one of the most spectacular campaigns in history. After only six weeks of fighting — and just four days of ground warfare — they liberated Kuwait and drove into southern Iraq, killing, wounding and capturing more than a hundred thousand Iraqi troops, at a cost of only about two hundred American lives. President Bush proclaimed victory and, in a burst of pride, declared, "By God, we've kicked the Vietnam Syndrome once and for all." But he hastened to add that the triumph did not herald a revival of the period before Vietnam, when the United States had sought to resolve crises everywhere since, he explained, its massive display of military might in the Middle East would deter future conflicts. "Because of what has happened," he said, "we won't have to use U.S. forces around the world."

Americans overwhelmingly backed Lyndon Johnson when he first sent U.S. combat troops into battle in March 1965. Approval of the war dwindled afterward — and, since its end, attitudes have been mixed and contradictory. A ***Time*** poll published in April 1990 showed that 57 percent of the U.S. public considered the intervention to have been "wrong." But roughly the same proportion held that, once involved, America ought to have employed all its power to prevail. Perceiving that war through a different prism, most veterans viewed the commitment as justified and voiced pride in their participation. An earlier study similarly disclosed that 82 percent asserted that they were prevented from winning — and, astonishingly, two-thirds declared a readiness to fight again in Vietnam without the curbs that, they alleged, had hobbled them during the war. Paradoxically, though, nearly half the veterans surveyed by ***Time*** in 1990 favored the eventual establishment of diplomatic relations with the Communist government in Hanoi.

By then, scores of veterans were revisiting Vietnam. They toured old battlefields, now reclaimed by the jungle, and rediscovered towns and villages they had once known. Numbers of Vietnamese, though isolated from the outside world, had absorbed American pop culture by listening to American radio broadcasts and tapes of American music, or by watching videocassettes of American movies. And, as if time had stood still, the former GIs found themselves surrounded by grinning urchins shouting the familiar wartime greeting, "Hey, Joe!"

General William C. Westmoreland, who commanded the U.S. forces in Vietnam from 1965 to 1968, predictably claimed in his memoirs that restraints had thwarted his effectiveness. He faulted President Johnson for escalating the war too slowly, refusing to permit incursions against enemy bases in Laos and Cambodia, furnishing the South Vietnamese army with inadequate equipment, and, among other things, "failing to level" with the U.S. public. He also disparaged President Nixon and his negotiator, Henry Kissinger, for "abandoning" the South Vietnamese government by conceding to a cease-fire agreement in January 1973 that allowed North Vietnamese troops to remain in the south. Above all, he denounced America's television networks and newspapers, contending that their distortions had turned U.S. opinion against the war. General Fred Weyand, the last U.S. commander in Vietnam, has further emphasized that the nation's growing disaffection with the war, fueled by the press, boomeranged to demoralize the American forces in the field. "The American army is really a people' s army in the sense that it belongs to the American people ....When the army is committed, the American people are committed; when the American people lose their commitment, it is futile to try to keep the army committed."

Yet Johnson and Nixon recoiled from imposing censorship along with stiff economic controls that, they calculated, would have elevated the importance of the war and perhaps damaged their political image at home. Instead they adopted what they termed a "policy of minimum candor," under which military information officers tried to manage the news by conflicting optimistic accounts contrived to show progress. For many U.S. officers, the main culprit was Johnson, who refused to put the country on a war footing out of fear that a full-scale war would doom his domestic economic and social programs. As a result, they have claimed, they were denied victory — and numbers have even argued that the Joint Chiefs of Staff ought to have resigned rather than accept the limitations inflicted on the forces in the field.

Professional soldiers have ventilated a catalogue of specific grievances since the end of the war. Several have contended that they were crippled by a command structure that authorized different branches to function autonomously, so that, for example, ground and air operations could not be coordinated. Former air force pilots have asserted that intensive bombing of North Vietnam from the outset, instead of Johnson's gradual escalation, would have crushed the Communists before the Soviet Union and China helped them to build up their lethal antiaircraft defenses. To the late Brigadier General Robert Montague, who served in Vietnam during the early 1960s, a crucial mistake was to have pitched American troops, trained to repulse Russians on the plains of central Europe, into a tangle of mountain jungles and rice fields, where enemy guerrillas could not be distinguished from local peasants. Westmoreland's former deputy, General Bruce Palmer, Jr., has indicted the rotation system, under which American soldiers returned home after only a year — barely time for them to integrate into their units. Speaking in his damn-the-torpedoes style, Admiral Thomas H. Moorer, a former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told me: "We should have fought in the north, where everyone was the enemy, where you didn't have to worry whether or not you were shooting friendly civilians. In the south, we had to cope with women concealing grenades in their brassieres, or in their baby's diapers. I remember two of our marines being killed by a youngster who they were teaching to play volleyball. But Lyndon Johnson didn't want to overthrow the North Vietnamese government. Well, the only reason to go to war is to overthrow a government you don't like."

Colonel Harry G. Summers, Jr., a foremost analyst of the war, has been less harsh on the press and politicians than many of his fellow officers. A veteran of two tours in Vietnam, he has criticized American military planners for pursuing Vietcong guerrillas, who were deployed to harass the U.S.

forces until big North Vietnamese divisions could launch major operations. In short, the Americans exhausted themselves in a futile counterinsurgency effort — "like a bull charging the toreador's cape rather than the toreador." This was Westmoreland's "war of attrition," predicated on the theory that superior U.S. firepower would inevitably wear down the enemy. But while the Americans succeeded tactically, Summers has written, their performance was a strategic failure. "You know," he boasted to a North Vietnamese colonel after the war, "you never defeated us on the battlefield." To which the Communist officer replied, "That may be so, but it is also irrelevant."

But such autopsies, like war games, often bear little resemblance to actual war. In reality, the Communists were almost fanatical in their resolve to reunify Vietnam under their control. They saw the struggle against America and its South Vietnamese allies as another chapter in their nation's thousands of years of resistance to Chinese aggression and later, French rule. And they were prepared to accept unlimited losses to achieve their sacred objective. Ho Chi Minh, the ascetic figure who led their crusade, had made the equation clear to the French on the eve of their war in 1946. "You can kill ten of my men for every one I kill of yours," he warned a French official, "but even at those odds, you will lose and I will win." General Giap, commander of the Communist forces, echoed the same theme more brutally at the time. "Every minute, hundreds of thousands of people die on this earth," he said. "The life or death of a hundred, a thousand, tens of thousands of human beings, even our compatriots, means little." When I interviewed him in Hanoi in March 1990, Giap repeated that his principal concern had been victory, not casualties. "How long would you have gone on fighting against the United States?" I asked. He replied instantly, "Another twenty years, maybe a hundred years, as long as it took to win, regardless of cost."

Communist veterans I interviewed following the war all evoked their cause — saying that, despite their ordeals, it had been their duty to "liberate the fatherland." The slogan sounded stereotyped to my skeptical ears, but I knew enough about Vietnamese history to grasp what they meant. The country, a battleground for thousands of years, reveres real or mythical heroes and heroines who resisted foreign intruders, chiefly the Chinese. In addition to spawning the notion that every Vietnamese is potentially a soldier, the memory of these struggles has forged a fierce sense of national identity that pulsates through Vietnam's theater, literature and folk art. I observed the phenomenon during a visit to a pagoda near Hanoi, where small children kowtowed and burned joss sticks before the statues of fabled warriors who had fought for the country. "Our profoundest ideology, the pervasive feeling of our people," Giap told me, "is patriotism." I heard the same analysis from a Vietnamese psychologist over lunch in Hanoi. "Even the lowliest peasant is deeply nationalistic," he said, "and in times of war, the sentiment can border on xenophobia."

General Maxwell Taylor, one of Kennedy's advisers on Vietnam and subsequently Johnson's ambassador in Saigon, had been a key architect of U.S. intervention. But not long before his death in 1987, he confessed to me that the involvement had been both a blunder and a lesson. "First, we didn't know ourselves. We thought that we were going into another Korean War, but this was a different country. Secondly, we didn't know our South Vietnamese allies. We never understood them, and that was another surprise. And we knew even less about North Vietnam. Who was Ho Chi Minh? Nobody really knew. So, until we know the enemy and know our allies and know ourselves, we'd better keep out of this kind of dirty business. It's very dangerous." As a result of this U.S. ignorance, Communist guerrillas could benefit from the jungles and rice fields of South Vietnam, where American troops could not distinguish friend from foe among the peasants, and the shortage of bombing targets in North Vietnam rendered U.S. strategic air raids largely ineffective.

On the diplomatic side of the war, Henry Kissinger was also confounded and frustrated by the Communists during his secret negotiations with them. He had sought above all to avoid a repetition of the inconclusive Korean War armistice talks, which had dragged on for two years because, he believed, America had not stiffened its diplomacy with the threat of force. He calculated that the North Vietnamese would compromise only if menaced with total annihilation, an approach that President Nixon privately dubbed his "madman theory." But, like his predecessors, Kissinger never found their breaking point. His later claims to the contrary, the Communists agreed to a cease-fire in October 1972 only after he had handed major concessions that were to jeopardize the future of the South Vietnamese government.

The real pressure on the Nixon administration to reach a settlement in Vietnam came from the American public, which by that time wanted peace at almost any price — for reasons that Kissinger himself had perceived four years before. Early in 1968, on the eve of Tet, the Asian lunar New Year, the Communists had launched a dramatic offensive against towns and cities throughout South Vietnam, which Kissinger saw as the "watershed" of the American effort in Vietnam: "Henceforth, no matter how effective our actions, the prevalent strategy could no longer achieve its objectives within a period or with force levels politically acceptable to the American people."

Americans had been prepared to make sacrifices in blood and treasure, as they had in other wars. But they had to be shown progress, told when the war would end. In World War II, they could stick pins in maps and trace the advance of their army across Europe; in Vietnam, where there were no fronts, they were only given meaningless enemy "body counts" and promises. So the United States, which had brought to bear stupendous military power to crack Communist morale, itself shattered under the strain of a struggle that seemed to be interminable. An original aim of the intervention, first enunciated by President Eisenhower, had been to protect all of Southeast Asia, whose countries would presumably "topple like a row of dominoes" were the Communists to take over Vietnam. Ironically, as Leslie Gelb of ***The New York Times*** has observed, the real domino to fall was American public opinion.

The public, distressed by mounting casualties, rising taxes and no prospect of a solution in sight, turned against the war long before America's political leaders did. Doubts had crept over many members of Congress. Yet except for a handful of senators, among them William Fulbright, Wayne Morse, Ernest Gruening, Gaylord Nelson and Eugene McCarthy, few translated their private misgivings into open dissent. Not until March 1968, when he decided to run for the presidency, did John F. Kennedy's brother Robert, the senator from New York, denounce the American commitment to South Vietnam — having initially been one of its vocal advocates. U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara finally did so in 1995 in his book, ***In Retrospect***, in which he repeated: "We were wrong, terribly wrong." Clearly, sixteen years after the end of the war, Vietnam still tormented him. And, in that sense, he was as much a casualty of the conflict as the thousands of American soldiers who never recovered from the trauma of combat.

McNamara's successor, Clark Clifford, had been a strong proponent of a vigorous military approach to Vietnam before taking charge of the Defense Department. A sensitive political animal, his antennae sharply attuned to the national mood, he changed overnight and adroitly maneuvered to alter President Johnson's course. In 1981, when I interviewed him in his luxurious Washington law office, Clifford tried to put the Vietnam experience in perspective: "Countries, like human beings, make mistakes. We made an honest mistake. I feel no sense of shame. Nor should the country feel any sense of shame. We felt that we were doing what was necessary. It proved to be unsound." Such admissions scarcely consoled the South Vietnamese, who by 1973 had discovered to their dismay that America, after twenty years, would not wage the war indefinitely.

By the end of 1963, America was spending $400 million annually in Vietnam. Some twelve thousand U.S. military advisers were serving there, and fifty of them had been killed over the previous four years — even though they were officially barred from engaging in battle. Yet a survey disclosed that 63 percent of Americans were paying "little or no attention" to the situation. Nor, in August 1964, did Congress question a dubious "incident" in the Tonkin Gulf off North Vietnam but, with only two dissenting votes, passed a resolution authorizing President Johnson to deploy U.S. forces in Southeast Asia. The disregard for Vietnam at the time was further mirrored in the fact that, until the first U.S. marines landed in Danang in March 1965, only five full-time American correspondents were stationed in Saigon.

By the early 1970s, the U.S. Army was disintegrating as the war wound down. With Nixon repatriating American troops, nobody wanted to be the last to die for a cause that had lost its meaning, and for those awaiting withdrawal only survival counted. Antiwar protests at home had spread to the men in the field, many of whom wore peace symbols and sullenly balked at going into combat. Race relations, cordial when blacks and whites had earlier shared a sense of purpose, grew increasingly tense. The use of drugs became so common that an official report estimated in 1971 that a third or more of the troops were addicted. Soldiers not only disobeyed their superiors but in numbers of cases actually murdered them with fragmentation grenades — a practice known as "fragging." Morale further deteriorated following revelations of a massacre in which a U.S. infantry company slaughtered some three hundred Vietnamese civilians in the village of My Lai — an episode that led GIs to presume that their commanders were covering up other atrocities.

The broader impact of the war on the U.S. armed forces was even worse. Between 1965 and the departure of the last American combat soldiers in early 1973, the bill for Vietnam totaled more than $120 billion — much of which would have normally been invested in modernizing the nation's defenses. As a result, the U.S. security structure had eroded, its divisions in Western Europe no match for their Warsaw Pact adversaries. Johnson's reluctance to increase taxes or to introduce economic controls to pay for Vietnam had sparked inflation, which skyrocketed in 1973 when the Middle East producers stopped the flow of oil and later quadrupled its price. The costs of rebuilding the American arsenal thus soared. By 1975, U.S. defense expenditures in real terms were roughly $4 billion a year less than they had been a decade before. Reagan subsequently went on a spree with borrowed money to resurrect the country's moribund war machine, and he furnished Bush with the sophisticated arms to wage the Persian Gulf conflict. But the cost contributed to a stupendous federal budget deficit.

The Americans who fought in Vietnam were either vilified by opponents of the war as killers or derided by its supporters as losers. For years afterward, many felt themselves to be members of a dislocated generation, their place in society uncomfortable, undefined, embarrassing — as if the nation blamed them for its own sense of guilt or shame for the conflict. In reality, most GIs returned from Vietnam to blend quietly and unobtrusively back into the population. But news media portrayals of veterans were frequently two-dimensional distortions. Those with troubles were often depicted as bearded junkies strumming guitars in a California commune, and those who readapted were exalted as hucksters making millions in Texas real estate. Their overall image improved gradually, though, as the U.S. public demonstrated new respect for the armed forces. They also earned esteem from the memorial in Washington, one of the capital's most popular monuments. For the most part, too, they were described compassionately in the tidal wave of Vietnam novels, memoirs, poems, movies, and television shows, dramas and even musicals that emerged following the war. They were perceived in a fresh light as well in the numbers of high schools and universities throughout the country that offered courses on Vietnam to young students who were not yet born when the first American combat units landed in Southeast Asia. In several instances, the teachers were themselves veterans.

But the war had impaired a large proportion of the veterans, both physically and mentally. Thousands were exposed to Agent Orange, a chemical herbicide that was used to defoliate jungles and has been identified as a cause of cancer, congenital deformations and other afflictions. A Veterans Administration survey released in 1988 estimated that some five hundred thousand of the three million U.S. troops who served in Vietnam suffered from "post-traumatic stress disorder" — a higher percentage than those affected by "shell shock" in World War I and "battle fatigue" in World War II, as a similar infirmity was termed in those conflicts. Its symptoms, which sometimes appear ten or fifteen years later, range from panic and rage to anxiety, depression and emotional paralysis. Divorce, suicide, drug addiction, crime and particularly alcoholism among Vietnam veterans surpassed the norm. A study published in 1981 by the Center for Policy Research and the City University of New York concluded that they were "plagued by significantly more problems than their peers." War is war. Why was Vietnam distinctive?

The danger was pervasive and chronic. I spent three years in the army during World War II, much of the time at airfields and supply depots in northeastern India, without ever hearing a shot fired in anger. But there were no secure areas in Vietnam. A GI assigned to an office in Saigon or a warehouse in Danang could be killed or injured at any moment of the day or night by Communist mortars or rockets. And during his one-year tour an infantryman humping the bush was in combat almost continually — harassed by enemy mines, booby traps and snipers, if not engaged in direct clashes. Philip Caputo, one of the more eloquent chroniclers of the Vietnam War, has noted by comparison that U.S. marine units, celebrated for their exploits against the Japanese in the Pacific campaign, fought for no longer than six or eight weeks during all of World War II.

The average age of the American soldier in Vietnam was nineteen, seven years younger than his father had been in World War II, which made him more vulnerable to the psychological strains of the struggle-strains that were aggravated by the special tension of Vietnam, where every peasant might be a Vietcong terrorist. William Ehrhart, a former marine, recollected a flash of the past that, years after the war, he had not forgotten: "Whenever you turned around, you'd be taking it in the solar plexus. Then the enemy would disappear, and you'd end up taking out your frustrations on the civilians. The way we operated, any Vietnamese seen running away from Americans was a Vietcong suspect, and we could shoot. It was standard operating procedure. One day I shot a woman in a rice field because she was running — just running away from the Americans. And I killed her. Fifty-five or sixty years old, unarmed, and at the time I didn't even think twice about it."

Paradoxically, the wonders of modern science contributed to the plight of Vietnam veterans after the war. Medical helicopters were so fast and efficient that a GI wounded in action could be on an operating table within fifteen minutes. Statistics tell the story. During World War II, roughly one out of every four U.S. marine casualties died. But survivors in Vietnam outnumbered the dead by a ratio of seven to one, and men who might have perished on the battlefield have survived, though many as invalids in need of constant care.

American soldiers in other wars gauged progress by conquering territory; seizing the next town on the route to victory sustained their morale. Their advances cheered the U.S. public, which could track their headway on maps. In Vietnam, by contrast, there were no front lines, and GIs became increasingly perplexed and dispirited as they fought for the same ground again and again. Their leaders, equally though privately discouraged, insisted on bigger "body counts," the illusory measure of success. But butchering an enemy force prepared to accept unlimited losses was not

only fruitless; it also made the war inglorious. Thus, as they viewed the hideous scenes on television, Americans at home saw Vietnam as both an exercise in futility and a metaphor for horror. And many directed their disgust and frustration against the returning U.S. troops.

America's postwar woes paled in comparison to the troubles bedeviling Vietnam. I returned there four times, from 1981 through 1996, and rediscovered a country ravaged by two generations of almost uninterrupted conflict; its problems exacerbated by the blunders of its geriatric leaders, who knew little else than war. They had splintered into rival cliques — some clinging to obsolete revolutionary dogmas, others advocating liberal change, yet others striving for compromise. After careening from one approach to another, out of desperation they embarked on a series of pragmatic economic reforms. The results were initially spectacular, prompting predictions that Vietnam would shortly catch up with Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, Thailand and South Korea, the dynamic "little tigers" of Asia. But despite undeniable progress, I found the optimism to be exaggerated — or at least premature. Though the cities were thriving, the rural areas, where four-fifths of the population lived, lagged far behind. With a per capita income of less than three hundred dollars a year, Vietnam ranked with Bangladesh as one of the world's most destitute lands.

Reconstructing Vietnam would have been daunting even under the best of circumstances. Its economy was shattered, its social fabric unraveled, its people exhausted, both in the north and in the south. Enormous areas lay in ruins. The death and destruction had ripped apart families whose political allegiances had been further fragmented in what was essentially a civil war. After struggling for survival during the war, the population was now struggling to survive a disappointing peace. More than a million Vietnamese fled abroad, often at their peril.

The Communists had aggravated the devastation. With the same intransigence that had inspired their resistance to the Americans, they pushed disastrously sectarian policies. In 1981, Pham Van Dong, then the Prime Minister, conceded as much as we chatted in an ornate chamber of the Hanoi mansion that had once housed the French colonial governors. A spry septuagenarian who had consecrated his life to the Communist cause, he was staggered by Vietnam's plight: "Yes, we defeated the United States, but now we are plagued by problems. We do not have enough to eat. We are a poor, underdeveloped nation. Waging a war is simple, but running a country is difficult."

A top Communist adviser, Tran Bach Dang, was blunter. "Our belief in a Communist utopia had nothing to do with reality. We tried to build a new society on theories and dreams — on sand. Instead of stimulating production by giving people incentives, we collectivized them. Imagine! We even collectivized barbers. It was preposterous. We were also consumed by vanity. Because we crushed the Americans, we thought that we could achieve anything. We should have heeded the old Chinese adage: 'You can conquer a country from horseback, but you cannot govern it from horseback.'" Giddy from their wartime success, the Communists unveiled an ambitious plan aimed at expanding the economy by 14 percent a year. It foundered. Economic growth barely attained two percent annually, trailing a birthrate of three percent, one of the highest in the world, a trend that reached back more than a half century. Despite wars and such calamities as typhoons, floods and droughts, the population had tripled since 1930, while food production hardly doubled. Vietnam was mired in poverty notwithstanding the dynamism of its people, who, given incentives, might have matched or even surpassed the economic achievements of other Asian nations.

The Communists initially went wrong by their slavish adherence to the outmoded Marxist tenet that economic growth hinged on promoting big industries like steel and chemicals. But they lacked the capital and the skills for the effort, even though their Soviet and East European allies furnished them with loans and technicians. They also counted in vain on $4.7 billion in "war reparations" from the United States, which Nixon had secretly promised them in early 1973 as an inducement to sign the cease-fire treaty. Without the hard currency to import raw materials, the country's handful of factories were operating in slow motion or not at all. The output of coal, once a major export, had dwindled for lack of conveyers and trucks. Banal items like soap and needles could not be found in Hanoi in 1981, where the only department store was empty, except for window presentations of goods absent from the shelves.

Haiphong, the principal northern port, was paralyzed. Half of the unloaded freight, most of it from the Soviet Union and other Communist countries, had been stolen or left to rot on the docks. I saw crates of equipment piled upside down or rusting from neglect. The harbor was congested with ships as Vietnamese officials, calibrating their demands to the wealth of the carriers, exacted bribes to permit cargoes to pass customs. The Japanese, able to afford the top tariff of five thousand dollars, could turn around in three days while the less affluent might be detained for three months. Hanoi's proclamations of proletarian unity to the contrary, Communist vessels were harassed and subjected to lengthy delays until they too kicked in.

The Marxist economic plan had also envisioned supplies of food pouring into the cities from the collective farms as indoctrinated peasants produced for the state. But villagers, accustomed to tilling their own soil, defied the scheme, particularly in the fertile Mekong Delta south of Saigon. Instead of delivering rice, vegetables and meat to official procurement agencies, they sold their output on the black market. In several places they even butchered their water buffalo, their indispensable beast of burden, rather than have them confiscated and, rather than cultivate crops for the government, left thousands of acres fallow. The rice harvest, slated to reach twenty-one million tons in 1980, was five million tons below that target three years later. During my stay in Vietnam in 1981, the cereal ration dropped to thirty pounds a month — most of it tapioca and other starches, which the Vietnamese detested. Meat was rare and fish, the main protein in the Vietnamese diet, was scarce either because thousands of fishermen lacked fuel for their boats or were fleeing.

A vindictive policy of repression further maimed the economy. When the Saigon officials surrendered to Bui Tin in 1975, he assured them: "All Vietnamese are the victors and only the American imperialists have been vanquished. If you love the nation and the people, consider today a happy day." But the Communists interned more than two hundred thousand South Vietnamese civil servants, army officers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, writers and other intellectuals in concentration camps euphemistically called "reeducation" centers. Under world pressure, the Communists finally conceded to free the prisoners — on condition that the United States admit them. Many settled in "Little Saigon," an enclave of Vietnamese immigrants south of Los Angeles, where, their lives broken, they subsisted on welfare or, at best, worked at menial tasks.

Another poignant heritage of the war was some fifty thousand "Amerasian" children fathered by U.S. troops. The majority of them were in Ho Chi Minh City, Danang and other cities, where the GIs had congregated. Showcase orphanages cared for a few but most were treated by the Vietnamese as outcasts, and denied schooling and even food rations. Those I observed in 1981 — some of them with blond hair and blue eyes, others partly black — had been reduced to peddling or begging on street corners. The pretty girls appeared to be destined for prostitution. Their mothers, often ostracized by their families, nagged international refugee agencies to find the fathers, usually identifying them as just Joe or Bill or Mac — to whom they had been "married" sixteen or seventeen years before. At first the Communists were reluctant to permit the Amerasians to leave, hoping to use them as chips in their diplomatic bargaining with the United States. President Reagan and Congress, for domestic political reasons, also flinched at revising the American

immigration laws. But finally the two sides relented. By 1990, accepted by either their fathers or by foster homes, some forty thousand kids had gone to America and the others were scheduled to depart.

Nothing dramatized the repugnance of the Vietnamese toward the poverty and brutality more graphically than the postwar exodus from Vietnam — the biggest migration of modern times. More than one million escaped, mostly by sea. Many died from exposure or drowning, or were robbed, raped or murdered by pirates who ply the waters off Southeast Asia. At least a half million also fled Cambodia and Laos, the other states that had comprised French Indochina, after the Communists took over those countries. A total of about one million from the three lands settled in the United States, but hundreds of thousands languished for years in squalid refugee camps in Hong Kong, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines. Unless they could prove that their motives had been political rather than economic, they ran the risk of being repatriated to Vietnam as many were, kicking and screaming, by the British authorities in Hong Kong. Yet others, unfazed by the danger, continued to flee.

By 1985, Vietnam's economy was crumbling. In parts of the north, where food was traditionally scarce, famine menaced some ten million people. Industry was at a standstill while the jobless and underemployed roamed city streets. Trade was paralyzed except for a lively black market in everything from aspirin to dollars, smuggled in or sent back to their families by Vietnamese abroad. Rumors spread of a possible revolt against the regime. Though conservative Communists were doing their best to thwart change, Marxist tenets had been diluted or scrapped. The managers of state enterprises were now directed to make their own decisions, forget government subsidies, show profits and either function efficiently or fold. Now the guru was Paul Samuelson, the liberal American Nobel economist, whose textbook had been translated into Vietnamese. "So you have embraced capitalism," I ribbed the suave foreign minister, Nguyen Co Thach, a vocal reformer. Objecting to the blasphemous term, he replied, "Absolutely not! We have simply adopted a market economy and the laws of supply and demand."

To justify the switch, party propagandists dredged up — or maybe invented — one of Ho Chi Minh's hitherto unknown homilies: "The poor should get rich and the rich should get richer." The program, called doi moi, or "new structure," was a Vietnamese version of perestroika, Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms in the Soviet Union. It virtually dissolved the egregious farm collectives and, though private ownership was not restored, peasants could rent land in long-term leases and work as their ancestors had for centuries — as families. No longer required to deliver most of their output to the regime at fixed prices, they could sell it competitively at free markets.

These innovations, coupled with the natural resilience of the Vietnamese, began to pay off. The annual inflation rate in 1988 had skyrocketed to 800 percent, quadrupling the price of gasoline and tripling the cost of a bowl of pho, the national soup. Entrepreneurs were spurning the dong, the Vietnamese currency, whose value tumbled, and conducting their transactions in gold, dollars and smuggled goods. Then the state banks abruptly increased interest rates, and people flocked to deposit their hidden cash. Inflation soon subsided, and the cost of borrowing dropped. The regime further eliminated the currency black market by devaluing the dong, whose rate in relation to the dollar had been fictitious. In 1989, their fetters mostly removed, peasants produced a crop that made Vietnam the world's third-largest rice exporter, after the United States and Thailand.

Like the rest of the world, Vietnam was in thrall to American pop culture. Local television featured old Tracy and Hepburn films along with Cable News Network. I spotted the announcement of a forthcoming beauty pageant and a concert by Elvis Phuong, a clone of the immortal. Vendors hawked Snoopy and Mickey Mouse tote bags, Michael Jackson posters and T-shirts emblazoned with "Good Morning Vietnam," the Robin Williams movie. Pepsi and Coke were competing for the soft-drink market, and a branch of Baskin-Robbins carried its familiar gamut of flavors. The town's liveliest bar was Apocalypse Now, named for Francis Ford Coppola's surrealistic evocation of the war. Twenty years before I would often grab a snack at Cheap Charlie's, a Chinese bistro. It had become a fast food joint called HAM-BU-GO CA-LI-PHO-NIA.

When I first set foot in Saigon, the Vietnamese elite spoke French. Now, regarded as necessary for business, the language of choice was English. Signs advertised English lessons, and the need for instructors had lured many young Americans to Vietnam. Browsing through bookstores, I saw piles of volumes like ***Common English Idioms, English Made Easy*** and ***Business Correspondence in English.*** Shops offered contraband American titles — among them this book — mailed by relatives in the United States and reprinted on copying machines. Rural parents encouraged their children to learn English, "so that, when they grow up, they can move to the city, go into business, make a lot of money and care for me in old age."

Curious to get some notion of how old-guard Communists perceived this stampede into capitalism, I raised the topic with Giap during a chat in Hanoi in early 1995. I knew from earlier interviews that he was not rattled by contentious questions. "What has happened to Marxism?" I asked him — perhaps a bit aggressively. "Marx," he answered calmly, "was a great analyst, but he never bequeathed us a formula for governing a country." Pushing further, I went on, "And socialism? I was taught that it signified state control of the means of production and distribution." Smiling faintly, he said, "Socialism is whatever brings happiness to the people." Giap's wife, Dang Bich Ha, a history professor with years in the party, echoed him in her way. A decade before, I was sure, she would have condemned U.S. capitalism as the fountain of all evil. But, one afternoon over tea, she exclaimed to me, "Those scenes of America on television are amazing — automobiles, refrigerators, private homes. Such abundance! The United States ought to be our model."

In 1995 about ten thousand Americans visited Vietnam. A few were relatives of soldiers missing in action, for whom the Vietnamese government has finally been trying to account fully. Most had come for pleasure or were just inquisitive. A team of surfers arrived to ride the waves at Danang, which GIs had dubbed China Beach, and a hardy group cycled around the country. Numbers of the tourists were veterans. They trudged across paddy fields and through villages that had been their battlegrounds, some with their former Communist enemies as guides. A few were bilked by peddlers selling fake dog tags and Zippo lighters engraved with the insignia of U.S. units. But the majority of them were delighted by Vietnamese hospitality. As a former corporal remarked, "I received a warmer welcome as an American vet returning to Vietnam than I did as a Vietnam vet returning to America."

During the war, the Communists had refused me a visa to Hanoi. But, when I did get there, its population of three million seemed to me to be languishing in a time warp. One of Asia's oldest towns, its decrepit temples and monuments testified to its grandeur as the imperial capital of Tonkin, the northernmost state of ancient Vietnam. The French had adopted the city late in the nineteenth century as the seat of their colonial administration. As they had in Saigon, they paved the streets and lined them with trees, laid out squares and erected pastel villas with tiled roofs, curled eaves and spacious verandas — a hybrid style caricatured as "Norman pagoda." They put up imposing office buildings set in lush gardens and a duplicate of the Paris opera. In the 1980s, the economic crisis had plunged Hanoi into misery. People spent hours foraging for a scrap of food or

a stick of firewood. Peasants who had crept into the town from famine areas begged in front of hotels for foreigners, and bundled together for warmth in the streets on cold, drizzly nights. The old French villas were mildewed and decayed. Practically nothing new had been constructed for half a century except two grotesque granite edifices — one of them a museum containing Ho Chi Minh's memorabilia, the other a mausoleum displaying his embalmed body, conceived by Soviet architects to imitate Lenin's tomb in Moscow.

But it was a different story in the 1990s. The department store that had been barren in 1981 was filled with merchandise. Bloomingdale's it was not, but the manager, Me Lai Bao Khanh, had scuttled socialist methods. To compete, she was improving the quality of her products, changing prices daily, extending warranties on appliances and installing them at no charge. Private bars and restaurants, once as covert as speakeasies, were now flourishing. The dilapidated French villas were being refurbished and let to foreigners at astronomical rents. The "Hanoi Hilton," as the American prisoners of war held there had dubbed their block-long jail, had been razed to make way for a mammoth office complex financed by Singapore money. One morning my guide steered me to a suburb for a glance at what he called "Hanoi's Beverly Hills." Rising from the muddy tract were garish houses embellished with fantasy cupolas and domes, and stairways spiraling up to balconies ringed by carved balustrades. The helter-skelter construction endangered the web of dikes that protected the city against recurrent flooding from the Red River, but little was being done to curb the real estate speculators. With official connivance they would lease state-owned land, build or renovate other houses, collect two or three years' rent in advance, then parlay the money into new properties. Thus, if the north had conquered the south, the spirit of the south was conquering the north.

On an excursion outside town, I stopped at the village of Bat Trang, whose three thousand citizens made ceramics — as their forebears had for seven centuries. Le Van Cam, a stocky, bearded master potter of sixty-five, had lost a leg during the war against the French. Leaning on a cane, he escorted me around his establishment. Most of his profits came from roofing tiles, but he preferred to copy antique ceramics with a glaze that he himself had perfected. He paused to kowtow at a shrine to his deceased sister, then led me into his house, where we sank into armchairs under a certificate attesting to his membership in the Communist Party. After pouring the inevitable tea, he launched a tirade against the Communists. "They did give us medical care and other social welfare," he said, "but they saddled us with harsh, incompetent managers. A few years ago, I directed a cooperative that manufactured rice bowls. My entire family lived in a single room, and all I had was a bicycle. The reforms have allowed me to run my own company. Now I have this big house, a television set, a videocassette recorder, even a washing machine. If I had a garage I would buy an automobile."

During the war, the Soviet Union and China had donated vast sums to North Vietnam as they competed to demonstrate their zeal in the struggle against American "imperialism." But their clash with China, which after years of mounting tensions erupted in early 1979, left Vietnam solely reliant on Moscow. As their own problems accumulated, however, the Russians began to lose interest in Southeast Asia. Then the Soviet Union collapsed, and the Vietnamese faced a dilemma. They could not turn to China, and the United States posed stiff conditions before it would grant them aid and trade.

Their relationship with their allies had always been thorny, ingraining in them a streak of paranoia. They had opposed Chinese intrusions for two millennia. At the Geneva Conference of 1954 following their defeat of France, they believed that they were entitled to all of Vietnam, but the Russians and Chinese compelled them to accept a partitioned country. Over the ensuing years, hoping that a protracted war would drain the Americans, the Chinese exhorted them to continue fighting and even trimmed aid to them in 1968, when they agreed to talk with the United States in Paris. They again felt betrayed in 1972, when, while they were still struggling against the Americans, both China and the Soviet Union entered into dialogues with President Nixon. The Chinese later tried to restrain them from taking over the south after the U.S. combat troops had departed Vietnam early in 1973. For Mao Zedong, the reunification of Vietnam was as remote as his own dream of capturing Taiwan. "I don't have a broom long enough to reach Taiwan," he cautioned Pham Van Dong, "and you don't have a broom long enough to reach Saigon."

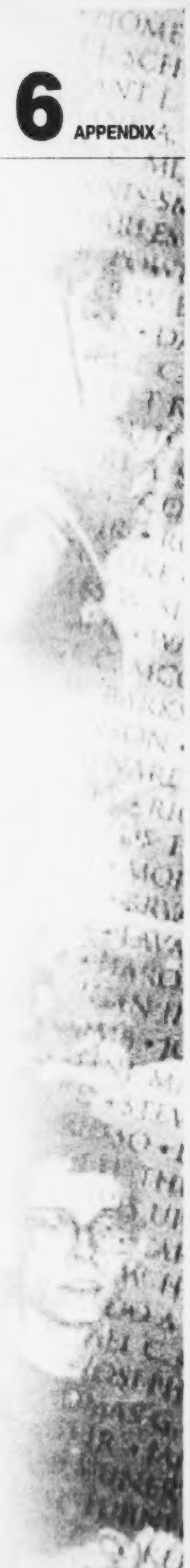
American officials alleged that Vietnam was withholding the remains of roughly two thousand missing U.S. servicemen as a device to bargain for recognition. The charge was not entirely false. Often the Vietnamese cooperated only when it suited their purposes. In one case, researchers found, the purported bones of Americans were those of Asians. But many U.S. politicians and pressure groups also exploited the issue, and they could do so because the Vietnam conflict, in contrast to other wars, tormented the American psyche.

Of the nearly three hundred thousand GIs killed in World War II, more than 20 percent were missing, and the same proportion applied to Korea. But, by 1996, the bodies of only a tiny fraction of those who died in Vietnam had not been recovered, mainly because of the technology employed to trace them. The technology also identified every American lost in the war. Pentagon officials, ordered to designate the ritual Unknown Soldier for Vietnam, arbitrarily selected the coffin of one whose identity was in fact known. Finding all the missing GIs was impossible. Cadavers decay quickly in the tropics, and regions of the country are so rugged that even the Vietnamese would never locate many of their two or three hundred thousand soldiers who vanished during the French and American wars.

But instead of acknowledging that reality, numbers of U.S. politicians, presidents included, deliberately inflamed the issue for their own aims. They also refused to state openly what most of them believed privately — that no live Americans were being held in Vietnam. Their duplicity spawned a cottage industry in spurious "sightings." Understandably reluctant to give up hope, many families of the missing men trusted lobbies that perpetuated the cruel hoax — and, in the process, duped the public. Surveys further showed that the majority of Americans — veterans among them — believed that Hanoi was detaining U.S. captives against their will.

In 1977, President Jimmy Carter had endorsed an initiative to forge a link between the United States and Vietnam. He delegated the negotiations to Richard Holbrooke, Assistant Secretary of State for Asia, who had served as a civilian official in Vietnam during the war. The talks opened in Paris and stalled as the Vietnamese insisted that Nixon's pledge of "reparations" be fulfilled. They had factored the sum into their economic plan but, untutored in the American system, did not understand it was up to Congress to vote appropriations. At the end of 1978, realizing that they had erred, they dropped the demand. It was too late. Carter's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, seeking to exert leverage on the Russians, argued that "normalizing" America's quasi-official ties to China was more important. White House political experts concurred, noting that U.S. opinion was hostile to Vietnam over the issue of the missing Americans. Then came the "boat people" exodus paralleled by the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia. Recognition of Hanoi was relegated to a back burner and remained there through the Reagan and Bush administrations.

It was also a low priority for President Bill Clinton. Attracted by rosy forecasts for Vietnam, numbers of American businessmen beseeched him to consider a relationship. But, having been



both a draft dodger and an anti-war protestor, he felt vulnerable to criticism from Republicans as well as from elements within his own Democratic party. As he often did when confronted by controversy, he waffled — and might have continued to do so had not two members of Congress with impeccable war records urged him to act. They were Senator John McCain, an Arizona Republican, a former navy pilot who had spent nearly six years as a prisoner of war, and John Kerry, the Democratic senator from Massachusetts, a decorated navy veteran. In February 1994, Clinton lifted the embargo on trade and investment with Hanoi — and at a small White House ceremony on July 11, 1995, announced full recognition. With his cabinet, congressional leaders, military brass and the heads of veterans' groups standing beside him, he said, "This moment offers us the opportunity to bind up our wounds....Whatever divided us before, let us consign to the past. Let this moment, in the words of the Scripture, be a time to heal and a time to build."

Its promoters applauded the gesture, but Vietnam fell short of their expectations. Labeled by the Communists "a market economy within a socialist framework," its new structure was a euphemism for state capitalism. Government involvement in business was pervasive. The army was engaged in everything from building hotels to running golf courses. The ministry of agriculture sold fertilizer, the ministry of industry operated textile factories. The foreign ministry charged visiting journalists fifty dollars a day for guides who earned one hundred dollars a month.

The more they explored Vietnam, the more businessmen found it to be, as one said, "the biggest investment tease in Asia." The bureaucracy was a swamp, the laws a tangle of bewildering regulations. Foreigners were barred from owning property, which enabled Vietnamese to acquire a major stake in a joint venture just by contributing an overpriced site. Obtaining an investment license frequently necessitated the approval of a dozen ministries and committees — with payoffs at every echelon. Either jealous of their prerogatives, or out of inertia, local officials often ignored the reforms promulgated by Hanoi. Accordingly, foreign investment faltered. Experts estimated that Vietnam needed $20 billion to sustain its growth until the end of the century, but by 1996 only $3 billion of the billions pledged had actually been dispersed. The leading investors, oddly, were South Korea and Taiwan, the most implacably anti-Communist nations in Asia. Despite predictions that they would dash in, American companies had invested less than $200 million — a large chunk of it in the offshore oil sector. Michael J. Scown, an American lawyer in Saigon, remarked to me that the Vietnamese had deluded themselves into thinking that the world was panting to get into Vietnam: "Businessmen are a tough bunch. They're not going to put up with headaches when they have other options elsewhere."

In 1996, a group of Harvard economists, commissioned by the regime to study Vietnam's progress, warned that despite the country's phenomenal rebound, the "gains achieved so far are extremely fragile" — adding, "The reforms, begun with a bang, are turning to whimpers." Among their proposals, they recommended that the ambiguous laws be clarified, the rigid rules for foreign investors eased, the sluggish bureaucracy streamlined and the state monopolies dismantled in order to encourage genuine competition. Their assessment concluded: "The question is not whether Vietnam can succeed, for it can. The doubt is whether it will." But some Americans remained optimistic. Eugene Matthews, a Harvard Law School graduate, settled in Hanoi in 1990 on the gamble that Vietnam would eventually become a ripe field for investment. He learned Vietnamese and was later hired as a consultant by such corporations as Revlon, Lehman Brothers and American Express. Too young to have fought in the war or protested against it, he stressed that foreign businessmen could succeed in Vietnam if they took the time to understand its strengths and weaknesses — and, above all, look forward rather than backward. "It's a country, not a war," he told me. "Don't sell these people short."

The United States did not begin to focus on Southeast Asia until World War II — and only because of its tangential link to the conflict with Japan. The few Americans familiar with the Vietnamese knew them to be passionately independent and atavistically hostile toward the Chinese. Their advice was disregarded in 1950, however, when President Truman decided to help the French regain their sovereignty over Indochina. He was prodded by his secretary of state, Dean Acheson, who maintained that France was crucial to U.S. policy in Europe. Acheson also advanced the "domino theory" — the notion that, unless the French were bulwarked, Communism would engulf the region. His idea stemmed from the naive belief that Ho Chi Minh was a pawn of Russia and China — without examining the possibility that Ho was, like Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia, a nationalist committed more to Vietnam's independence than to global Communism. So dubious assumptions propelled America into an area marginal to its real strategic interests.

As the Cold War intensified, Southeast Asia became an international cockpit. But, for centuries, foreign powers had penetrated the region in quest of wealth or influence, or to counter the lusts of their rivals. No thrust had a greater impact than European colonial intervention, which transmuted new institutions and new ideas in the crucible of traditional customs and ancient values. The collision of East and West stimulated Asians both to resist and to adapt, infusing them with the vitality to recover their identity, revise old practices and define fresh aspirations. The experience also stirred the Vietnamese — sowing the seeds of a struggle that was to culminate in more than fifty-eight thousand American names etched into a granite memorial in Washington.

From ***Vietnam: A History,*** by Stanley Karnow.

MODULE 6: APPENDIX B — ARTICLE, *BACK TO VIETNAM: A PERSONAL PEACE MISSION* BY STEPHEN SOSSAMAN

Back to Vietnam: A Personal Peace Mission
By Stephen Sossaman
Hampshire Life
January 7, 1994

As eager as I was to leave Vietnam and the U.S. Army artillery 25 years ago, I was even more eager this past summer to return on a peaceful mission. Over the last half dozen years, a growing number of veterans have gone back to Vietnam for various reasons. Some are sent by psychological counselors as part of their healing from war trauma.

Others go out to clear unexploded mines, or to build orphanages and schools, all personal efforts at beginning the reparations which the U.S. government promised as part of the 1973 agreement ending the war, but which were never provided.

When I returned to Vietnam in July with 11 others, including three other veterans, our collective purpose was to conduct walks in five Vietnamese cities to call publicly for an end to the American embargo against normal relations with Vietnam.

But my personal motivation was both simpler and deeper. I went primarily to interact with the Vietnamese people peacefully, to rectify the intolerable imbalance caused by the distortions of wartime, when my only interaction with them was highly unnatural. We were trying to kill each other.

Despite that, from my wartime observations and my subsequent readings, I grew up to admire the Vietnamese and to become absorbed by their rich history. So another motivation was to experience more directly their complex and fascinating culture, and to see again the extraordinary and varied beauty of their land, this time without worrying about what was hidden in the foliage or down the alleys.

Did I have moments of fear, flashbacks of my wartime state of mind? No. While I sometimes get spooked walking in New England woods, alert to likely ambush sites, I felt exhilarated and secure walking Vietnamese streets. I felt comfortable even in Hanoi, once mysterious and hostile, and in the once-lethal alleys of Hue.

THE ALMOST TOTAL absence of armed police and soldiers surely helped. So too did the warmth and volubility of many Vietnamese.

Some of them were probably surprised to see an American. A few veterans of our South Vietnamese allies during the war sought me out to practice their English, swap war stories, and, occasionally, to complain of life under the Communists.

Every where there were Communist veterans of the North Vietnamese Army (NVA) or the Viet Cong (VC) who also sought me out, asked me if I was a veteran, and warmly embraced me, sometimes literally.

Each of the American veterans on the trip remembers which one of those encounters with former enemies was most moving. For Jim Gibson from California, it was a tearful talk with a retired NVA colonel in the hills outside of Hanoi.

For me it was sharing stories and local beer with Le Huy Vu, a former VC fighter in the jungles of Hue while I was in the rice paddies of the Mekong Delta.

That, I knew, was how strangers should interact, not by trying to kill each other. I first realized this in 1968, while in the Army, although I did not have the strength to face my revulsion at our war effort fully until I was out of the military.

The American peace movement can probably be credited for much of Vietnam's friendliness. During the war, the Communists repeatedly told their population that American government officials were warmongers, but the American people were friendly and peace loving.

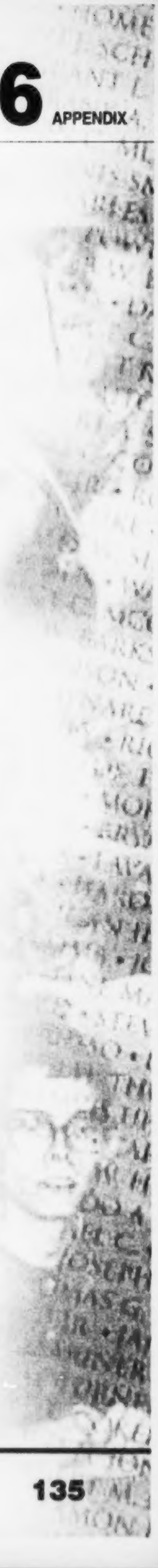
Another reason for this friendliness is doubtless the widespread belief that the embargo will soon be lifted and Americans will become important trading partners and investors in Vietnamese enterprises.

There's certainly precedence for their expecting former enemies to be important peacetime partners. Despite Vietnamese bitterness over French colonial rule, and French embarrassment over their military defeat in Vietnam, the fifth largest investor in their rebuilding efforts.

Japan, which occupied Vietnam during World War II, is even more heavily invested there, having abandoned its embargo to pursue business opportunities in Vietnam.

Nearly all of the Vietnamese I met were neither bitter about American military destruction nor smug about their series of difficult victories against larger nations. But all were proud of having achieved independence against the odds.

Of course, not every encounter with my former enemies was quiet as sentimental or restorative as my afternoon with Vu.



Some people in Hanoi old enough to remember the war gave me looks which struck me as hostile. Perhaps they were just surprised to see a Westerner down their side street.

On other occasions, hostility was clear. As a happy crowd milled around from me, another Da Nang official bitterly objected to American MIA demands, calling them impossible to fulfill. I was already convinced, but he didn't know that.

Staring directly at me, he told us that as a VC soldier, "I lost nine friends in the war and I do not know where any are buried, I cannot visit any of their graves."

And in fact, American military units routinely buried VC and NVA dead in mass graves without notifying the International Red Cross, so that families were never informed of the date and place of death. The Vietnamese have about 300,000 MIA's, a terrible number.

Several Vietnamese told me that our expectation that they can account for all of our MIAs is an absurd pretext for a vindictive trade embargo. Our own government is only now in the process of returning killed enemy soldiers' captured papers, which will enable some Vietnamese families to learn the fates of their own MIAs.

I heard a different bitterness in Saigon. There on South Vietnamese veteran confided great hatred for the Communists. He spent four years in a re-education camp, but was most upset that good jobs were denied to veterans of the defeated South Vietnamese government.

Another South Vietnamese, a cyclo driver in Nha Trang, was more nostalgic than bitter. He fondly remembered his military service and his patrols with American soldiers.

NEITHER OF THEIR responses was unexpected, but my return to Vietnam did bring some surprises. The most dramatic was the Vietnamese scramble to make foreign contacts, learn English, begin joint ventures, and join international consumer society.

We learned that urban Vietnamese consider themselves on the brink of great economical growth and material improvements.

Foreign investment in Vietnam is increasing enormously, as international corporations compete for early access to a hungry new market of some 70 million people.

Vietnam also offers foreign corporations reliable cheap labor and considerable natural resources. The nation is undeveloped because of successive wars, and inefficient economic system and a trade embargo once embraced by all of our allies, but since abandoned by every nation except our own.

Nearly $5 billion has been invested by foreign companies recently, half of that in 1992. Hundreds of foreign companies are setting up offices in Vietnam, and major infrastructure projects are announced every week.

Some American companies are eager to bid on those projects, and their pressure led President Clinton to modify the embargo in September to permit American companies to compete for projects financed by loans from the International Monetary Fund.

After all, American business argued, most of the IMF monies are American dollars, yet the only nation unable to profit from the projects was America.

But it remains illegal for companies to do any other business with Vietnam, and there are still strict limits on sending humanitarian aid and on spending by American travelers.

As recently as 1991, the group that organized our trip, called Vietnam Friends, was threatened with arrest by the Treasury Department for violating the ban on group travel to Vietnam imposed by the 1917 Trading with the Enemies Act. Three weeks after Vietnam Friends defied the warning by going to Vietnam for the first peace walk, the Treasury Department ended its prohibition of such travel.

The Vietnamese I spoke with are eager for all lingering restrictions to be abandoned. They seem to believe more strongly in free trade than many in our Congress.

On my second night in Vietnam, I came face to face with both Vietnamese economic ambition an Vietnamese naivete about the free market. After our reception with a Hanoi governmental committee, three of the groups' four veterans were asked to meet a hotel owner to discuss his plans.

We were hurried after dark through streets dense with bicycle and motorbike traffic to a small hotel near the Hanoi railway station. Hanoi's taxis are cyclos, human-powered tricycles with a rudimentary box seat over the two front wheels.

Jim Gibson, the Army veteran from California, was eager to meet North Vietnamese Army veterans, and this hotel was run by vets. Of course, it would be hard to find middle-aged Vietnamese in Hanoi who were not vets.

Larry Wong, an ex-marine now living Seattle, was very wary of his hosts, and declined the beer, tea and fruit traditionally served at such meetings.

The hotel owner, Dang Dinh Truong, was nervous as he pitched his idea. He said that as Americans we must know a few millionaires first, but then realized that all three of us probably did, even if we weren't exactly their trusted financial advisers.

The hotel had six rooms, two of which would tolerably satisfy Americans on an economy tour. The owner paraded us through all the rooms, ignoring the fact that all were occupied by Vietnamese families, some eating dinner.

Many people in Vietnam have ideas for earning foreign money, and Truong's was to rebuild his hotel to 60 rooms, have it staffed entirely by North Vietnamese Army vets, and serve only American Vietnam vets as they toured.

Few American veterans return as tourists, but many are expected.

I thought Truong's plan was bizarre. The North Vietnamese Army was one of the world's best, and any American veteran who fought them can easily remember regarding them with dread and fear. Some veterans still have nightmares about them, and are startled by Vietnamese faces encountered in American grocery stores or streets. How many of them would choose hotel staff made up of former deadly enemies? Not many, I would guess. And it seems likely that few would use the nearby Vietnamese railroad system, whose antiquated carriages are long on 1920s charm but short on clean restrooms and other comforts.

Truong planned to change the hotel name to "The Vietnamese-American Veteran' Friendship Hotel."

I wondered if Truong had been equally enthusiastic when he gave the hotel its current name "30-4 Hotel," commemorating the fall of Saigon on April 30,1975.

Jim liked the hotel idea. I was unconvinced that Truong's niche market existed, or would be enough to sustain the hotel. I asked what occupancy rate would be necessary far a profit, and after some struggle in translation, Truong said that he expected every room to have guests every night.

Like several other Vietnamese I spoke with later, Truong seemed to expect enthusiastic endorsement of his idea without his being able to answer some questions we would consider fundamental to starting a business.

NONETHELESS, THE Vietnamese have always proven able to adjust and succeed. They adapted to every new weapon and tactic used in wars against them, and Vietnamese who come to America quickly learn and prosper from our economic system.

At the street level, Vietnam has a thriving if limited consumer market. Japanese electronics, Coca-Cola from Singapore, and rental videos are easily found in the cities.

Every street corner seems to have at least one man or woman squatting behind a bicycle pump, ready to service the myriad bicycles that flow by constantly. A few of these roadside workers also have inner tube patch kits and clamps, but some have nothing more than a pump.

One sidewalk business in Nha Trang consisted of a very thin old man squatting behind a bathroom scale, offering to weigh pedestrians.

Throughout the cities, sidewalks are crowded with stands selling food and beverages and cigarettes. In fact most consumer commerce, and much of the social life, takes place on the sidewalks.

It is as if all these enterprises spilled out of the narrow buildings by the sheer exuberance and sociability of the people. It is more likely that people are driven to the sidewalks by the tropical heat and the dense overcrowding of the buildings.

Each of the typical narrow buildings, similar to railroad apartments in America, houses from three to eight families, and the front room is almost invariably a shop of some sort.

Credit is unheard of. In a country where the average annual income is about $500, new motorbikes cost $2,000, and buyers have to pay cash. Ownership of land is forbidden, with Vietnamese families and foreign investors now being allowed long-term leases on land used for farming, or for factory or hotel construction.

After living through a demoralizing recession in Massachusetts and hearing so much cynicism and despair from my neighbors here, I was surprised to realize that the Vietnamese seem to believe more strongly than some Americans in the power of free enterprise, the potential of entrepreneurship and the ability of an energetic and educated individual to succeed.

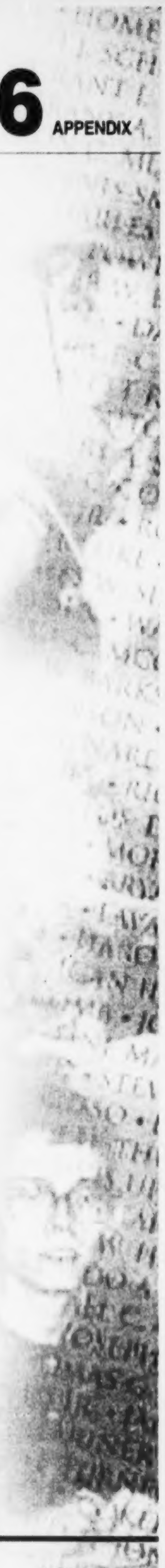
The energetic are already profiting from American tourists. Children selling beers and sodas flock to Americans, and those with persistence, charm and reasonably good English get the inflated prices they ask.

Two young street vendors, one in Da Nang and the other at nearby Marble Mountain, told me that when not in school, they work from 7:30 a.m. to 11 at night. And they weren't complaining.

Those children who are taught English consider themselves very lucky. One of our hosts told us that half of the children still are assigned Russian, the only other foreign language officially taught in Vietnamese schools.

With Russia having ended its once considerable aid to Vietnam, and suffering its own development problems, the Russian language is considered a dead end.

Even if American businesses do not come in large numbers, English is the common language



with which the Vietnamese conduct business with visitors from Singapore, Taiwan, Japan and other nations.

I was startled the first time I heard Vietnamese museum guides discussing exhibits with Taiwanese visitors in English, but grew used to it.

Vietnamese crowd around the English-language instruction books to in bookstores. When I offered to send books to two Vietnamese students who had practiced their English with me in Hanoi and Saigon, both immediately asked for books on English as a second language.

IN THE SOUTH, many of the cyclo drivers speak English because they are veterans of the defeated South Vietnamese Army. After the war, they were restricted to manual labor.

Cyclo drivers paid a lot of attention to my group, often following us when we preferred to walk, in hopes that we would tire. American tourists are charged much more than the poorer Vietnamese.

One of my few uncomfortable moments came when I took my first cyclo ride in Hanoi, after wrestling with the feeling that I was exploiting the driver, who had to pedal me through oppressive heat and humidity. What to me was small change was a considerable amount to him. A $1 ride across town would provide the driver with more than a normal day's total income from Vietnamese riders.

That first ride was not only embarrassing, it was very ironic, because my destination was Hanoi's Museum of the Revolution, which chronicles the Vietnamese struggle for independence. There was, and American veteran being laboriously pedaled to the Museum of the Revolution by a North Vietnamese Army veteran. The revolution isn't quite over if the winner gets to pedal the loser around town for small a change. I recalled without pleasure several 1920s photographs of French colonists being wheeled around by gaunt Vietnamese.

But my cyclo driver was pleased with the fare, cheerfully told me about his army service, and asked me about my age and family, as did many other Vietnamese.

He was waiting for me when I finished my leisurely walk through the museum. Like the colonial wars themselves, the museum was grim, but the driver's talk about his children and mine cheered me up.

IN FACT, ANYTIME I got a little too carried away with unpleasant contemplation, one Vietnamese or another brought me back.

In Cu Chi, for example, where our guides showed us a military cemetery before we visited the famous VC tunnels, I strolled among the grave markers, wondering about the identities of the VC such as the date or province of the soldier's birth.

I found myself in front of the grave of a man killed in 1968, when I was in Vietnam. I stepped back, and was about to take a picture of this grave when a child's face appeared in my lens, out of focus but patient.

Young Vietnam was gently bringing me back to the present. I took her picture, and pictures of her two friends, and was in a far better mood when, in the next hour, I toured the harrowing tunnel system in which thousands of Vietnamese lived and fought to avoid American air power.

Other Vietnamese children lightened my memory load at Hanoi's Army Museum. I was alone, taking an occasional picture, when one large group of schoolchildren turned toward me, away from their lecturer, who was showing them fragments of downed American and French aircraft.

They held their poses, and I took their picture. Now that this photo is developed and enlarged, I see their smiles and the ease with which they temporarily abandoned a lesson about their elders' sacrifices.

In moments like these, moments of what Larry, the ex-Marine, called "citizen to citizen diplomacy," we seemed to do the most toward reconciliation, and toward establishing a normal, friendly relationship with the people of Vietnam.

But our hope was that our peace walks would be the significant steps toward normal relations between the two countries. We wanted President Clinton to find ending the embargo a little easier because of the press coverage our walks received from CBS, National Public Radio, Reuters, the Associated Press and other media. We wanted him to know that not all veterans oppressed normalization.

Our group had been scheduled to do peace walks in five cities, but three of these walks were canceled without explanation. We walked in Hanoi and Saigon, but not in the central coastal cities of Hue, Da Nang and Nha Trang, even though we still traveled to those cities and met with province officials.

Our best guess is that the government was skittish about street demonstrations by Buddhists. Last May, while our trip was being planned, a Buddhist immolated himself to protest government treatment of Buddhists. The government apparently believes there is an active effort to overthrow it.

When in June a police or army unit appeared at a pagoda to arrest or talk with a Buddhist leader, depending on who tells the story, a crowd encircled it and burned a government vehicle.

The government wants no repetition of the shocking publicity gained by Thich Quang Duc, who immolated himself in Saigon in 1963, protesting the American supported South Vietnamese government.

Another irony. In the early 1960s those Buddhists were denounced as Communists and oppressed by the South Vietnamese government we supported. Now the Communists denounce them as subversive anti-Communists.

The English sedan in which Duc drove to Saigon, and which waits in the background of the famous photograph of the immolation, is garaged as a son of shrine at the Thien Mu Pagoda outside Hue. It looks tiny and fragile, and seems a bizarre relic for a revered Buddhist.

I asked three government officials about the arrests of Buddhists, and received the same answer: They were not "true" Buddhists, but subversives craftily using Buddhist robes.

In the government's logic, they know a true Buddhist, because the government created an official Buddhist church organization a decade ago. A rival Buddhist organization is considered a political rather than religious organization.

Vietnam does have a history of politically active religious groups, including the Cao Dai sect, some 2 million strong in the south. The Cao Dai once had their own militia. Their colorful cathedral in Tay Ninh is one of the most astonishing sights in the country.

Its mix of Western and Eastern architectural styles, and its eclectic decorations mirror its theology, which blends elements of Buddhism, Confucianism, Christianity, French socialism, and Islam. The Cao Dai count among their saints Victor Hugo and Winston Churchill.

Like the Cao Dai religion, Vietnam today is a curious mix of West and East. The Vietnamese revere their past, but look forward to becoming the next Asian economic tiger in a global economy.

MODULE 6: APPENDIX C — ARTICLE, *INCOUNTRY* BY DAVID M. BERMAN

Incountry
By David M. Berman
Social Education
October 1991

Landscapes

HO CHI MINH CITY, SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM — July 12, 1990 — Hard by the banks of the Red River delta, the Vietnamese landscape appears locked in historical time. With the onset of the monsoon rains in the north, water buffaloes plow the muddy fields, farmers transplant rice seedlings by hand, and irrigation canals fill with life-sustaining water. In the delta plain, water pours through the shutter gates of the canal network and into the paddies, the landscape a patchwork of reflecting pools divided by footpaths and dikes.

Along Highway 1 between Hue and Da Nang, the scene is little different although in reverse of the monsoon cycle; the rains have recently ended here and the dry season has begun. With the rugged mountains along the coast of the South China Sea forming a scenic backdrop, the rice plants are well along and wave in the wind, now patches of green velvet. As the dry season begins along the coastal plain, children still herd the water buffaloes, and farmers dressed in black thresh rice grains by hand and take their midday break during the high sun's heat.

To someone who has been in Vietnam during the U.S. presence, something is distinctive among the serenity of the villages. But it takes time to notice. In virtually every Vietnamese village, north and south, the eye is drawn to a break in the village contour, a disruption marked by a large vertical monument that rises above the thatch and tile-roofed houses. To Quoc Ghi Cong Cac Liet Si the monument proclaims: "The Fatherland Remembers the Sacrifice of Each Fallen Soldier." Each village we pass has its own monument, with scores of markers and gravestones for its fallen sons and daughters. The lasting effect of the U.S. war in Vietnam upon Vietnamese society and upon the Vietnamese population strikes home, a vivid reminder that extends beyond the treelines and hedgerows that mark the village boundaries.

"One way or another, it appears that almost every village in Vietnam lost men in the war," I observed to Nguyen Ngoc Hung, 3d Battalion, 64th Regiment, 320th Division — the "iron fist" of the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN), what we once knew as the NVA (North Vietnamese Army). "Every family," he corrected me. "Almost every family was a victim of the war. I feel a very deep sadness inside me about the war," he continued. "I have one aunt and five uncles and we've lost, I've lost, seventeen cousins and brothers in my family." Nguyen Ngoc Hung, who fought some six years in the war, "not out of hatred against the Americans but for the love and independence of the country," is now the Vice-Director of the Vietnamese Language Centre at the Hanoi Foreign Language College where among his other duties, he teaches English.

Casualties of War

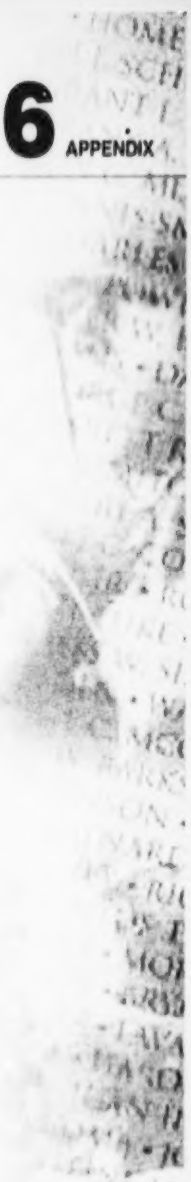
The two largest Nghia Trang Liet Si ("soldiers' cemeteries" or, more properly translated, "heroes' cemeteries,") that I have visited were south of the old DMZ (Demilitarized Zone) — the Truong Son Revolutionary Martyrs' Cemetery near the old DMZ just west of the hill at Con Thien, and the cemetery in Cu Chi district, northwest of Ho Chi Minh City (Saigon), near the tunnels and the old base camp of the Twenty-fifth Infantry Division at Dong Du. The Truong Son Cemetery contains some 6,000 graves; the cemetery at Cu Chi contains approximately 6,200. Many of the grave markers are inscribed with the names, dates of birth, dates of enlistment, names of home-towns or villages, military units, and dates of death of the fallen soldiers. Some markers have only a name; many have none. The Cu Chi Cemetery contains a monument to the unknown soldier of Vietnam, Liet Si Vo Danh, with the inscription Anh Vo Dnah Nhuong Ten Anh Song Mai, "The Brother Gives Up His Place to the Brother Who Lives On." The fallen soldiers of the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN), the South Vietnamese Army, however, have no such legacy, buried instead in family plots with no monuments in remembrance of their sacrifices. Vietnamese casualty figures, north and south, military and civilian, are estimated at 1,921,000 dead and also included some 3,200,000 wounded throughout Indochina to include Laos and Cambodia. Although the fighting ended some fifteen years ago, casualty figures continue to mount.

In Phu Hiep village, three kilometers (1.88 miles) north of Hue City in Thau Thien province, one week prior to our visit, eleven injured Vietnamese were rushed to the emergency room of Hue Central Hospital when a 105-mm howitzer shell, dragged from the banks of the Perfume River (Song Houng), exploded in their midst. A 15-year-old child was killed on the spot and a 16-year-old died in the hospital. As we walked through the wards we saw a 38-year-old woman with chest and gut wounds, and an 18-year-old boy with shrapnel in his legs; a 9-year-old boy with an open fracture of the tibia lay on a blood-stained cot.

In a separate incident some thirty kilometers (18.6 miles) west of Hue City, a mine exploded when two bothers, working in their garden, unearthed it with their hoe. Ho Dac Phu, age fifteen (born during the last year of the war), his right hand now a bloody stump wrapped in blood-stained bandages, his abdomen, left arm, and leg wounded from shrapnel, lay on a cot next to his brother, Ho Pac Danh, age fourteen (born after the war's end), now in danger of losing his left eye from shrapnel.

In words of Nguyen Van Luong, the Thua Thien province representative to the national Assembly and former NLF (National Liberation Front) commander of the 808th and 814th Infantry Regiments of Quang Tri region (wounded five times and still carrying U.S. shrapnel in his neck), casualties of war continue to climb from U.S. mines and shells, as well as from Agent Orange. Some 7 million shells, bombs, and mines have been found during the clearing operations in Quang Binh and Quang Tri provinces, which straddle the old DMZ, and in Thua Thien province just south of the Quang Tri. Since the end of the war, he estimates, some four thousand people have been killed or wounded from such ordnance. Dr. Pham Dong Nhai at Hue Central Hospital recalls that from the end of the war in 1975 through 1981, at least one casualty a day occurred from exploding ordnance in the region. Today he believes that figure stands at approximately one each month.

The northern region of what was once I Corps has suffered much in the aftermath of thirty years of warfare, but especially during the last ten years of the U.S. war, 1965-1975. "You should have been here in 1976," Nguyen Van Luong said. "It was total destruction." In regard to Agent Orange, both Nguyen Van Luong and Pham Bao Diem, the President of the People's Committee of Thua Thien province, estimate that some 150,000 hectares in Thua Thien alone were defoliated during the war and include some 90 percent of the forested regions. They also note the high incidence of liver diseases children born in defoliated areas sprayed with dioxin, although no figures were available to support their contention.



PORTRAITS

Given the lingering effects of the war, how then do Vietnamese view the United States and its people? The official view, most prominently portrayed in museums devoted to the country's wars, is seen in the Revolutionary Museum in Hanoi and the War Crimes Museum in Ho Chi Minh City (HCMC-formerly Saigon).

Devoted to extolling the virtues of the long struggle for national independence, the Revolutionary Museum contains a history of the country's wars against its enemies, with one room devoted to Toi Ac Cua De Quoc My O Viet Nam, U.S. Crimes in Vietnam. The exhibit contains what might be expected of Vietnamese perspectives on their struggle against the American enemy. Photographs chart the progression of the war: Ngo Dinh Diem with President Eisenhower, the Marines landing at Da Nang in 1965, and the Christmas bombing of Hanoi in 1972. A diorama displays photos of General Westmoreland, the My Lai (Son My) massacre, American POWs in captivity, B-52s dropping bombs, and pieces of wreckage from B-52s shot down during the bombing — wreckage more prominently displayed at the Air Museum located on Duong Chien Than B52, or B52 Victory Road. In my view, the exhibit reverts to the obscene in its display of the uniform, with name tag and pictures, of a captured U.S. Air Force pilot, and the uniform, also with name tag, of a soldier from the Army's Twenty-fifth Infantry Division.

At the War Crimes Museum, as it is popularly known in HCMC, which includes displays of the wars against the Chinese, the French, and the Americans, one building is entitled Toi Ac Cua My Doi Voi Nhan Dan Viet Nam or "American Crimes toward the Vietnamese People." As in the Revolutionary Museum, this exhibition contains a series of photographs and maps charting the chronology of U.S. political and military involvement in Vietnam. A large map of U.S. units and their positions in April 1969 is located next to a large display of division patches of selected U.S. units, although several well known combat units are entirely ignored, including the Army's First, Ninth, and Twenty-fifth Infantry Divisions, the First and Third Marine Divisions, and the Third Marine Amphibious Force. The display includes the ***Chicago Sun-Times*** photo of a Vietnamese POW falling out of a U.S. helicopter, enlarged ***Life*** magazine photos by Ronald Haeberle, the Army photographer who revealed the Son My massacre, and enlarged photos of the victims of the bombings over what was once North Vietnam.

A second room is devoted to chemical warfare and includes maps of U.S. facilities in the States and the names of chemical companies and universities involved in the chemical weapons program. Maps also show chemical storage facilities in Vietnam and U.S. topographic maps display herbicide spray missions superimposed. Photos of deformed fetuses and deformed infants attributed to chemical warfare are prominently displayed as well, along with two deformed fetuses in glass jars.

During face-to-face meetings and discussions with Vietnamese government officials, the official view as portrayed in the country's museums is moderated by the practicalities of diplomatic encounters. In the words of Le Mai, the Vice-Foreign Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

> It is the desire of the Vietnamese people to normalize relations with the U.S. It helps peace and stability in the region, and families who are separated, the people who are suffering. Normalization should come as soon as possible.

Le Mai questions U.S. policy toward the Vietnamese government, particularly its refusal to establish diplomatic relations with Vietnam some fifteen years after its withdrawal. "We ask our American friends why the [present] U.S. policy toward Vietnam. Our American friends have told us that, in the case of Vietnam, don't talk about logic." The Vietnamese suggest that U.S. diplomatic policy toward Vietnam is motivated less by practicalities and bureaucrats to punish Vietnam for the war they successfully waged against the United States.

Viewed in other terms, the ire of the Vietnamese, as expressed in museum exhibits for example, appears directed towards the United States government, which they differentiate from the people. "The Vietnamese have always distinguished between the American people and the American authorities," the Rector of Hue University Polytechnique, Hoang Duc Dat, told us three years ago. According to one Western ambassador in Hanoi, the Vietnamese want to normalize relations with the United States very quickly. The hard-line U.S. policy is affecting the hard-liners here. The effect is devastating economically and is pushing Vietnam towards China. He explains that "a lot of people in the [U.S.] government really haven't forgiven Vietnam for winning the war." Le Mai reiterates this concern: "We can recognize that there are bitter feelings amongst American families even though Vietnamese did not come to the U.S. to kill mericans." Yet "there are many Vietnamese families who have biter feelings, who have [also] been victimized by the war." The Vietnamese with whom we spoke, and Vietnamese veterans in particular, although hardly ignoring the bitterness of the past, appear to look toward the future, the pursuit of friendship with their former enemies, and a mutual attempt to understand the war from both Vietnamese and U.S. perspectives. In the worlds of Pahn Xuan Bien, a researcher with the Social Science Institute in Ho Chi Minh City, former soldier in the Command Center of Military Region 4, "during the war we were soldiers and it is a soldier's duty to fight. But the war has been over now for twenty years and there is no reason why we cannot become friends."

EPILOGUE

The Vietnamese educators with whom we spoke were in accord in their hope for future collaboration with U.S. educators to improve teaching about U.S. and Vietnamese history and culture, and about the U.S. war in Vietnam. How can we do this at a secondary level? we might ask, given the profound influence of the war upon U.S. society and the lingering questions that surround the absence of diplomatic relations between our two countries. "The war has not ended yet even though today we are sitting at the same table," emphasized Pham Minh Thao, a researcher with the Institute of Military History, veteran of wars against the French, Chinese, and Americans. "As those who fought the war, we understand the high value of peace and we must try to enhance the mutual understanding between our two nations."

If we are to embrace this vision and promote "the high value of peace" to "enhance the mutual understanding" of our two countries, we must restructure the social studies curriculum to teach more about countries such as Vietnam than simply the U.S. wars fought in those countries. During the height of the Vietnam War, John T. McAlister, Jr., and Paul Mus wrote clearly about this limited American view: "What has been repeatedly said about Viet Nam has been written almost exclusively from a very particular Western perspective." Although we sought "to win the heats and minds of the people," they contend that "virtually every American effort over the past decade has betrayed a fundamental ignorance of what does animate the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese people and how their spirit can be won."

Nguyen Ngoc Giao, the Rector of Ho Chi Minh University (formerly the University of Saigon) offers us a contemporary message: "Vietnam has a long history and you should teach more about Vietnam than just the Vietnam War." In curricular terms, the teaching of Vietnam should be located within the context of world cultures or world history courses as well as within survey courses on U.S. history where it is taught as the Vietnam War. At this juncture we should emphasize the culture and traditions of the Vietnamese (and the Cambodians, the Indonesians, the Iraqis — peoples who have heretofore appeared as unimportant in the larger scheme of world history) until these peoples become integral to U.S. geopolitical concerns. "We can no longer be content with writing only the history of victorious elites, or with detailing the subjugation of dominated ethnic groups," writes Eric R. Wolf in Europe and the People without History. We "need to uncover the history of 'the people without history' — the active histories of 'primitives,' peasantries, laborers, immigrants, and besieged minorities."

"The spirit or mentality of the Vietnamese — the three-fourths of them who continue to lead lives rooted in the traditions of the village — is the essential untold story about Viet Nam," continue McAlister and Mus. "The reason for telling this story is...to emphasize that the participation of peasants in a revolution to create a modern state is the story of most of Asia in this century." If we are to negotiate successfully what Frances FitzGerald called "this leap of perspective" to understand the intellectual distance between the United States and countries such as Vietnam, the curricular organization of the social studies must be restructured to emphasize positively the worth of learning about the Vietnamese from the perspective of Vietnamese history and culture, as well as learning about Vietnam through an understanding of the Vietnam War. The war in Vietnam has painfully bound our two countries together forever and it is time we look at the significance of such a union and the messages we, as educators, pass on to our youth through our own cultural tradition — those youth who may one day fight their own war.

Families flee from their homes during an attack by the Viet Cong on Saigon.

BIOGRAPHIC NOTES AND GLOSSARY

BIOGRAPHIES

Ngo Dinh Diem: Anti-Communist Catholic who became political head of South Vietnam through a rigged referendum. Rejected the elections prescribed under the 1954 Geneva Peace Accords and was overthrown and murdered by his own generals in November 1963.

Dwight D. Eisenhower: President of the United States, 1953-61. Decided not to intervene on the side of the French at Dien Bien Phu, but had previously aided them. Supported President Diem of South Vietnam after 1955.

Daniel Ellsberg: Defense Department official who served in Vietnam in 1967. Participated in an internal task force analyzing the strategic issues and later supplied these classified "Pentagon Papers" to ***The New York Times***, which published them in 1971.

Jane Fonda: Movie star who strongly opposed the Vietnam War, to the point of traveling to North Vietnam during the war.

William Fullbright: Arkansas Senator from 1945-79. Was instrumental in passing the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which gave President Johnson the power to commit American forces in Southeast Asia. Later turned against the Vietnam War and held hearings criticizing the conflict.

General Vo Nguygen Giap: Modern Vietnam's foremost military figure. Created the Viet Minh military structure that defeated the French at Dien Bien Phu. Continued to serve as chief military strategist for the Communists until he retired in 1975.

General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.: Decorated Army officer in Vietnam. Joined the National Security Council under Henry Kissinger in 1969. Secretary of State under President Reagan.

Tom Hayden: One of the founders of the anti-war group, Students for a Democratic Society, and one-time husband of Jane Fonda — who accompanied her on her trip to North Vietnam during the war.

Lyndon B. Johnson: Elected Vice President of the United States in 1960 and became President upon Kennedy's assassination in November 1963. Greatly increased the number of American troops in Vietnam. Was elected to a full term in 1964 but chose not to run again in 1968 in part because of the controversy surrounding the Vietnam War.

John F. Kennedy: Elected President of the United States in 1960 and was assassinated in November 1963, three weeks after the murder of South Vietnamese President Diem. Was the first American president to commit troops to Vietnam.

Nguyen Cao Ky: Prime Minister of South Vietnam from 1965-67 and figurehead vice president until 1971. Well-known pilot and war hero who fled the country in 1975 and came to the United States.

Robert McNamara: U.S. Secretary of Defense from 1961-68. Senior American military policy maker throughout much of the Vietnam War. Disenchanted with the war effort, he resigned in 1968 to become president of the World Bank.

Ho Chi Minh: Born Nguyen Tat Thanh in 1890, Minh traveled the world as a young man, living in Paris for seven years. There he joined the French Communist Party in 1920, founded the Indo-Chinese Communist Party in Hong Kong in 1930, and began the Viet Minh in Vietnam in 1941. He took the name of Ho Chi Minh or "He Who Enlightens" and declared Vietnam independent of France in 1945. As president of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, he defeated the French in 1954 and led North Vietnam until his death in September 1969.

Duong Van Minh: Known as "Big Mihn" because of his size. Led the South Vietnamese coup against President Diem in November 1963. Only lasted two months before being removed from office by his fellow generals. Was later chosen as the person to formally surrender South Vietnam to the Communists in April 1975, and he was allowed to emigrate to France in 1983.

Richard M. Nixon: President of the United States from 1968-74. Was Vice President under Eisenhower during 1952-60 and was defeated by John Kennedy in 1960. Won the 1968 election on a platform of "Vietnamization" or gradual pullout, but then presided over the main body of the Vietnam War, including the heaviest bombing. Was forced from office in 1974 by the Watergate scandal.

Madame Ngo Dinh Nu: Informal "first lady" of South Vietnam under President Diem, though not his wife. Unpopular due to strident manner. Moved to Rome in 1964.

Dean Rusk: Secretary of State from 1961-68, under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. Consistently favored and supported intervention against Communists in Southeast Asia from as early as 1950.

The Chicago Seven: Group of anti-war activists indicted under anti-riot statutes for conspiracy related to civil disturbances during the Democratic Party National Convention in Chicago in 1968.

Le Duc Tho: Co-founder of the Indo-Chinese Communist Party who directed guerrilla war in South Vietnam while negotiating with Henry Kissinger to end the war. Awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, which he refused. Died in Hanoi in 1990.

Harry S Truman: President of the United States from 1945-1952. Took the first steps toward involving the U.S. in Vietnam by aiding the French against the Communists in 1949.

General William Westmoreland: Appointed head of military advisory mission to Vietnam in 1964 and commanded U.S. combat forces in Vietnam until 1968. Later became Army Chief of Staff.

GLOSSARY

Agent Orange: A chemical herbicide that was used against the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong to defoliate jungles and has been identified as a cause of cancer, birth defects, and other afflictions among servicemen and their offspring.

ARVN: Army of the Republic of Vietnam — the army of South Vietnam.

Bloods: Slang used by U.S. military personnel to refer to black servicemen.

Boot Camp: Military training and orientation process where civilians are transformed into soldiers.

Boat People: Refugees from Vietnam who escaped by boat, some traveling many thousands of miles or even drowning in an effort to reach a safe haven from the Communist government.

Charlie: Victor Charlie, taken from the U.S military communications alphabet and standing for Viet Cong, which was a shortening of Viet Cong San or Vietnamese Communist.

Cold War: The period from 1945 through 1991 when the world democracies, led by America, waged an economic, ideological and military struggle against communist expansion, largely led by the Soviet Union.

Communism: A doctrine supporting state ownership of property and the means of production. Often associated with revolutionary seizure of power versus a democratic process of elections.

Conscientious Objector: An individual who refused to serve in the military on religious or ethical grounds. Conscientious objectors often performed alternative service, such as working in hospitals in the United States. Some served as noncombatants in the U.S. military.

Containment: The political theory that Communism was like a disease and it must be "contained" or quarantined within the countries where it existed or it would spread.

Domino Theory: The concept that individual Communist countries within a region destabilize that region as a whole, so that neighboring countries are then more likely to "go Communist" versus remaining democratic, free market nations.

Fragging: Assault/murder of military superiors (either commissioned or noncommissioned) by U.S. troops, usually using fragmentation grenades.

Front: A fixed geographic area where armies in conflict wage large-scale confrontations. In Vietnam there were no fronts, with conflict occurring in hundreds of differing locations.

Gook: A derogatory term for Asians, especially Vietnamese.

Grunts: U.S. military slang for infantry troops.

Guerrilla Warfare: Nontraditional warfare strategy where the main tactics are infiltration, ambush, pretending to be part of the civilian population, and political terror.

Homecoming: The contrast between the hero's welcome received by returning soldiers during past wars of American history and the negative and even hostile reception given to Vietnam veterans.

Marshall Plan: Massive economic aid program for Western Europe, beginning in 1947, which was designed to curb Communist expansion.

NVA: North Vietnamese Army.

Pacification: A U.S. program in South Vietnam aimed at engaging the civilian population in a common effort to defend and develop their communities. Initiated under President Johnson (1967-68), also called CORDS.

Port Huron Statement: A 1962 Students for a Democratic Society position paper opposing the war.

Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD): A condition that can appear many years after combat service. Symptoms may include uncontrolled panic or rage, depression, or even emotional paralysis. It also may be accompanied by incidences of divorce, drug addiction, suicide, alcoholism, and crime.

Rest and Recreation: Usually of a few days to a few weeks in duration, where troops were allowed to leave the combat area and even the country for a stay somewhere in the Pacific basin, for example in Taiwan, Hawaii, or Australia.

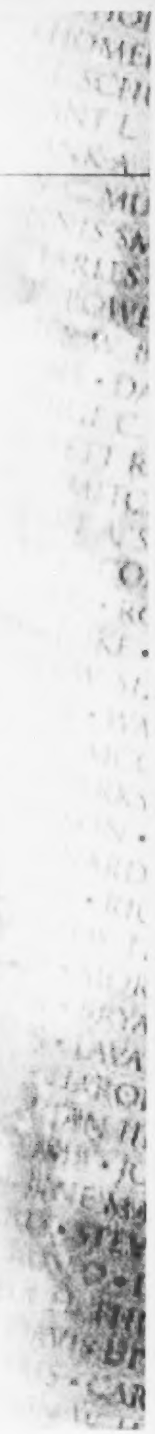
Refugees: Those who left the country of Vietnam during or after the war, through fear for their safety or because of opposition to a Communist form of government.

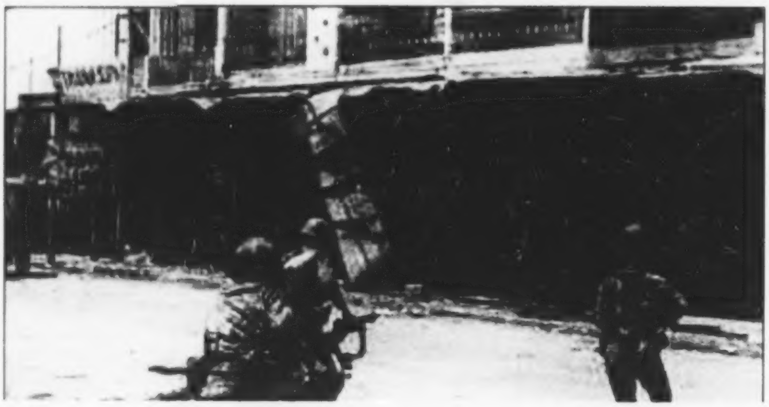
Students for a Democratic Society: One of the leading anti-war groups in the United States, especially prevalent on college campuses.

Tet: The Asian Lunar New Year celebration, a major religious holiday in Vietnam and elsewhere, falling at the end of January and beginning of February each year.

Truman Doctrine: Support for anti-Communists efforts around the world — including the French in Indochina in 1949.

Vietnam Syndrome: The United States' hesitancy to consider the use of force in pursuit of national objectives because of the lasting psychological trauma from the Vietnam War. President George Bush proclaimed that the success of the U.S. Armed Forces in the Persian Gulf War ended the Vietnam Syndrome. (Referenced in module 6, appendix A.)





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President Johnson, President Lyndon B. Johnson Library; Soldier, National Archives and Records Administration — Helicopter, National Archives and Records Administration — Vietnamese Woman, National Archives and Records Administration; Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., National Archives and Records Administration; Anti- war protester, Bernie Boston

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Module 6 side bar even pages 54-58 and 120-144: 2 POWs, Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University — Agent orange, Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University — Refugees, Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University — Rescuing wounded, Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University

Module 6 side bar odd pages 53-57 and 119-145: 2 soldiers, National Archives and Records Administration — Medic caring for baby, Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University — POW, Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University

Page 3 Medcap, Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University; **Page 4** The Wall, VVMF; **Page 8** Wounded, Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University; **Page 9** Crossing river, Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University; **Page 16** President Johnson, President Lyndon B. Johnson Library; **Page 17** Presidents Kennedy and Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy Library; **Page 24** POW protest, National Archives and Records Administration; **Page 26** Protester pointing, National Archives and Records Administration; **Page 31** Protester sit-in, National Archives and Records Administration; **Page 34** Sergeant, Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University; **Page 38** Marines,Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University; **Page 43** Mail, Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University; **Page 45** Vietnamese couple, National Archives and Records Administration; **Page 47** Vietnamese bus, Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University; **Page 48** Ho Chi Minh, Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University; and McNamara, National Archives and Records Administration; **Page 51** Lin with model, VVMF; **Page 53** POW, National Archives and Records Administration; **Page 55** Doctor, Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University; **Page 56** Agent Orange, Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University; **Page 57** Refugees, Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University; **Page 58** Children, Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University; **Page 60** Marching, Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University; **Page 66** Surgery, Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University; **Page 71** Anti-war protest, ©Bernie Boston 1967; **Page 111** Shaving, Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University; **Page 114** Captured Viet Cong, Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University; **Page 145** Fleeing Saigon, Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University; **Page 149** Troops fighting, Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University

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